

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

The Making of a Business Mayor

Initially elected with left/liberal support, L.A.'s Tom Bradley has solid corporate support in his re-election campaign. Page 6.

In this issue

Zaire: <i>Will U.S. prop up regime?</i>	3
Let's all go—bar me <i>Volunteer army in trouble</i>	3
Murals over America <i>Genuine people's art covers the land</i>	11
Lily Tomlin/Art Carney <i>They make The Late Show work</i>	22



THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Indira Gandhi

Photo by UPI

Democracy wins but new rulers are no bargain

Mrs. Gandhi had taken my arm and was relaxed and friendly after the long hours of our interview.... But when we reached the outer door, she fell silent. An aged beggar was asleep on the pavement. Beside him, a cow was evacuating its bowels, soiling him with excrement. Maybe I ought to have refrained from any comment. Instead I murmured: "Things certainly do move a bit slowly in India." I had barely uttered the words when five steely fingers gripped my arm and an icy voice retorted: "What do you want me to do? I'm surrounded by a bunch of idiots. And democracy..."

—Orianna Fallaci, "Indira's Coup"

The election...will require the citizens of India to choose between a woman who has made mistakes but who is possessed of a modern mind and an understanding of traditional India on the one hand and a rag-bag collection of opportunistic and temporary political allies on the other. The choice should be obvious.

—Derek Davies, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

When in January Indira Gandhi called for new elections, most people thought that it was a set-up. India had gone through two years of relative prosperity, even though storm clouds were on the horizon; in the two months between the call and the elections, the opposition, most of whom were in jail, would be unable to unite and to organize an effective campaign against her. An election victory would furnish her and her program with needed legitimacy.

But Gandhi's principal opponents, Moraji Desai and Jaya Prakash Narayan, were able to unite to form the Janata party. They received an unexpected boost when Gandhi's agricultural minister Jagjivan Ram, the leader of India's 80 million "untouchables," quit her cabinet and formed the opposition Congress for Democracy.

Campaigning against Gandhi's emergency rule and for political democracy, the opposition parties scored a smashing victory in last week's election. At last count, the parties had won 340 out of 542 seats, with the Jan-

ata party alone only 3 seats short of an absolute majority. In her own district, which she had carried by 110,000 votes in 1971, Gandhi lost by 55,000 votes to Raj Narain, a semi-literate jokester by reputation. Her controversial son Sanjay, whose meteoric rise had alarmed Indian politicians and whose forced sterilization campaign and unashamed defense of capitalism had alienated the Indian masses, lost by over 100,000 votes in the neighboring district.

Gandhi's defeat demonstrates the strength of democratic sentiment in India. Her successors will certainly hesitate now before attempting to repress their opposition, which is welcome news for the Indian left. But its immediate consequences for Indian politics are less bright, since Gandhi's successors show even less sign of being able to solve India's problems than she was.

► Socialist in name alone.

Neither Gandhi nor the Congress party is "socialist" in anything but name. For Gandhi or for her father Jawahar Nehru, socialism means concern for the downtrodden, and capitalist development through state planning. When the planning succeeds enough to help the downtrodden, then you have socialism.

The Indian capitalist class embraced "socialist planning," in this sense, as the means by which it could escape colonial backwardness. Through the Congress party, they preached an economic philosophy of "self-reliance" from the developed capitalist countries, on the one hand, and careful state planning to create the surplus needed for capitalist expansion, on the other hand.

But by the mid-1950s, the Indian plan had gone awry, and in the midst of growing trade deficits and insufficient state revenues, the government had to seek aid and investment from abroad, principally from the U.S. Because the aid and investment reflected the priorities of foreign investors and was filtered through the Indian class structure, it did not produce development, but a special form of underdevelopment.

Foreign investments were concentrated in manufacturing assembly plants that produced luxury commodities for the Indian middle-class market; agricultural aid programs were squandered by large semi-feudal landholders. As a result, India had to continue importing basic necessities, and its trade deficit grew.

► Gandhi's economic strategy.

When she became prime minister in 1967, Gandhi did not abandon this basic economic strategy but she did attempt to modify it in certain important ways:

- she nationalized banks in order to put credit in state hands,
- she broke strikes, and then after the 1975 emergency, outlawed them altogether in order to protect industrial profits and hold down state expenses,
- she simultaneously lowered taxes on the wealthy while stepping up a campaign against tax evaders in order to convince the wealthy to pay their taxes to the state rather than secreting it away as "black money,"
- she introduced a 25 percent tax credit on new investments.
- she passed laws regulating foreign investment so as to permit majority foreign ownership only in firms that export rather than produce for the Indian market, a measure designed to improve India's balance of trade,
- and she continued to play the Soviet Union and the U.S. off against each other in a search for increased aid.

Gandhi's main failure, in terms of her own program, came in land reform where she was unable to buck the landed elite within her own party upon which she had to depend for support.

Gandhi's program, along with monsoon-inspired grain

surpluses, is credited for India's comeback in 1975. As a result both Indian and foreign capitalists have given her strong support.

"It's a great tragedy that Indira Gandhi felt she had to destroy democracy in order to institute capitalism," the *Wall Street Journal* editorialized last year. "For while the world has watched her repressing the political sector, it has not noticed that at the same time she has been freeing the economic sector."

► Janata a rightwing coalition.

Gandhi's failure to win the election creates a dilemma for her immediate successors. If Gandhi is India's Nixon, then they are its Goldwaters and Buckleyes. Just as Goldwater can exist better as a minority vote from the right than as a president who might have to carry out what he says, Desai and the other Janata politicians might find themselves similarly ill-equipped to rule.

Except for the Socialist party, Janata is a rightwing coalition. Jana Sangh is a Hindu nationalist party that is as anti-communist as it is anti-Moslem. The Indian People's party is led by large landlords. And Desai's Old Congress party is a right splinter from Gandhi's Congress party.

Desai, who has been chosen prime minister, was an outspoken critic of Gandhi's gestures toward the Soviet Union. He was fired as finance minister when he refused to support the nationalization of the banks.

Jagjivan Ram, the only major opposition leader not on the right, has already said that his Congress for Democracy will not join the ruling Janata coalition. While Janata will still be able to command a majority, further divisions within the former opposition can be expected as Desai finds himself unable to deal with India's economic and social problems.

► A divided left.

For India to escape backwardness requires that it wring as large a surplus as possible out of its people and that it find a way of asserting its own development plans against foreign capitalist wishes. Gandhi understood this, if nothing else.

To accomplish this within a capitalist framework requires the suppression of the working class, sweeping land reforms carried out against the large landowners to mobilize the millions of Indian small farmers, and a willingness to play the U.S. off against the USSR. Gandhi was unable to take all these steps; to the extent that she even took some, she found herself abandoning democracy and losing popular support.

Her successors may not even try, and as a result India will continue to flounder.

Socialism, of course, provides another alternative. It cannot eliminate the need for foreign aid, as Vietnam's present needs testify, but it can provide a maximum of control over its direction and it can minimize and provide a rationale for the sacrifice that people will have to endure.

In India, however, the prognosis for socialism is presently as bleak as the prognosis for capitalism. The Indian left is bitterly divided among a pro-Soviet Communist party (CPI) that backed Indira Gandhi's state of emergency, an independent Communist party (CPM) that now will have only 20 seats in the 542-seat assembly, and some Maoist groups that split from the CPM to engage in armed struggle and have mostly ended up in jail.

Gandhi's defeat will nevertheless provide an opening for some of these groups, especially the CPM, to provide an alternative development plan to the one India has followed since its independence; and as Desai proceeds to discredit himself, they may be able to gain new support.

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THE MILITARY

Will there be a new Draft?

For Pentagon hard-liners who believe that American military strength is gradually being surpassed, the decline in manpower levels is their worst nightmare come true.

By Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign

The All-Volunteer Armed Force, Nixon's effort to defuse the antiwar movement of the '60s and to provide for a trained professional armed force, is in serious trouble. At least two service branches are having great difficulty in recruiting and retaining sufficient personnel. During the last quarter of 1976, the Army fell six percent short of its requirements, while the Marine Corps was 15 percent off its pace.

The shift to the volunteer force has apparently also exacerbated retention problems that have plagued the military since the Vietnam era. The Army, for example, is losing one out of every seven recruits before the end of his or her tour; three quarters of these separations are under less-than-honorable conditions.

Reserve components are also considered "dangerously" below strength by military professionals. No longer able to rely on the threat of combat duty to drive thousands of college students into their ranks, the "weekend warriors" are currently 70,000 below their authorized strength of 260,000.

A growing coalition of Senators, senior military officers and civilian "analysts" also believe that the volunteer force is just too expensive. According to one expert, it would cost an incredible \$29 billion to mobilize enough troops to reach Vietnam force levels.

►Carter aware of problem.

Recent statements by President Carter indicate that he is well aware of these trends and may be laying the groundwork for a comprehensive system of "national service" or for a return to a coercive draft.

On March 1, during a Pentagon visit, Carter said, "We [are] concerned about the weakness of recruitment.... If we cannot provide for the nation's defense without a draft, I will not hesitate to recommend a draft law."

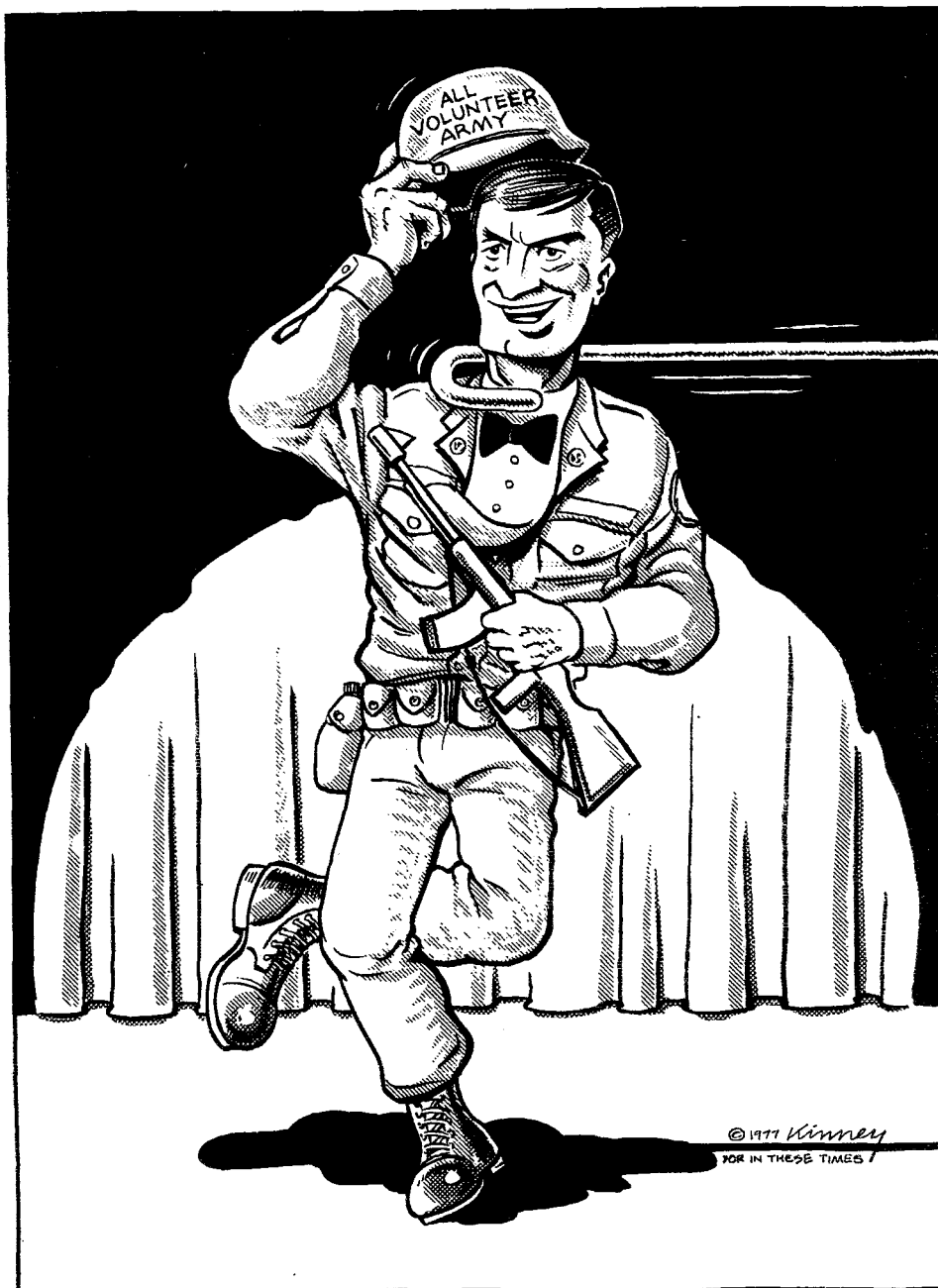
A week later, he revealed plans for a \$2 billion youth corps to create jobs for some of the more than half a million unemployed young people between age 18 and 24. Some observers have suggested that this proposal could serve as a trial balloon for a more comprehensive plan for "national service" in the future.

A recent Senate study outlined the rationale for such a national service system. Insisting that service must not be viewed as competitive by "private enterprise," it argued that it must still be tied to "problems that are substantial and important to our national growth and well-being." Thus, the "substantial" problem of youth unemployment might be linked to the priority of military strength.

One frequently mentioned model for a national service program would have a mix of compulsory and voluntary characteristics. Registration, testing and counseling would be compulsory, although the actual choice of where to "serve" might remain "voluntary." Should such a system produce insufficient "volunteers" for the military, a "back up" draft might "channel resources" where they are needed—active-duty or reserve military units, for instance.

►Strategic national importance.

For Pentagon hard-liners who believe that American military strength is gradually being surpassed by the Soviet Union, the decline in manpower levels is their worst nightmare come true. They derive little



consolation from America's continuing strategic superiority in nuclear weapons and delivery systems, fearing that the Russians will use their growing advantage in conventional forces to outmaneuver the U.S. in pursuit of foreign policy objectives.

Within this context the debate over the all-volunteer military takes on an importance far surpassing the specialized problems of attracting sufficient recruits or finding jobs for "idle youth."

On March 2, the Senate Armed Services subcommittee on Manpower chaired

by Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, convened a one-day hearing that featured Prof. William King, who presented his study, "Achieving America's Goals: National Service or the All-Volunteer Force?"

Nunn, one of the emerging voices of the "New South," set the tone for the hearings with his opening remarks: "The decision to end the draft and to create an all-volunteer force was mainly a product of anti-Vietnam sentiment. It was an emotional decision, made without adequate

Continued on page 4.

Zaire war threatens Carters smile

By Gerald J. Bender

AFRICA

The present attack by Katangese forces is only the most recent chapter in the remarkable saga of these well-trained soldiers, who have now fought for no less than five different causes in the last decade and a half...

The recent attack on Zaire by Katangese soldiers from their exile bases in Angola forced President Carter to make some hasty, but vital, decisions on Africa before his administration has even finished formulating its new African policy.

For more than a decade the U.S. has considered Zaire's President Mobutu to be its strongest ally in Africa. In order to assure his continued rule the U.S. has sent Zaire considerable military and financial assistance. Between 1960 and 1973 the U.S. provided Zaire with \$500 million in support. The \$30 million in military aid to Zaire in 1976 represented half of the American military assistance to all countries in sub-Saharan Africa. American investment in Zaire of just under \$1 billion is exceeded in Africa only by investments in South Africa and Nigeria. Moreover, the CIA not only maintains its largest African station in Zaire but recent disclosures of world leaders on the CIA payroll indicate that Mobutu's personal links with the agency extend over a decade and presumably still continue.

If the Carter administration follows past policy toward Zaire, we can expect further American assistance for the beleaguered country beyond the \$2 million worth of supplies flown in during the first week of the conflict. And if the U.S. continues to blame Angola for the invasion, we can expect a further deterioration in Angolan-American relations—which had been warming since Carter's inauguration to the point that American recognition of

the Agostinho Neto regime appeared almost certain by mid-1977. The immediate question, then, is how critically will President Carter examine past assumptions and policies before plunging further into Zaire's internal war.

►Katangese gendarmes.

The present attack by Katangese forces is only the most recent chapter in the remarkable saga of these well-trained soldiers, who have now fought for no less than five different causes in the last decade and a half.

They were organized as a fighting force in December 1960 to act as the military arm of their leader, and fellow Lunda, Moïse Tshombe. Trained by white mercenaries, financed by Belgian mining interests, and armed by a variety of western sources, they proved to be a formidable fighting force for Tshombe in his attempt to have the copper-rich Katanga (now called Shaba) secede from the rest of Zaire (formerly known as the Belgian Congo).

After that effort was decisively defeated in 1963 most of the Katangese gendarmes fled into Angola, but many returned the following year when the mercenary Tshombe became prime minister.

Tshombe immediately integrated his former militia into the country's national army—the same army against which it had fought earlier.

Following Tshombe's ouster and Mobutu's assumption of power in 1965, however, the Katangese units in the army rebelled and made their way back to Angola. The Portuguese agreed to give them sanctuary on the condition that they assist their armed forces in the fight against Angolan nationalists inside the colony.

According to some Portuguese officers, the Katangese were the most effective of the African soldiers in their army during the decade of fighting preceding the Portuguese coup in April 1974. Ironically, the nationalist group most subject to attacks by the former gendarmes was the MPLA—the group now ruling Angola that the American government is accusing of providing logistical support for the Katangese.

Following the Portuguese coup, President Mobutu demanded that the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (AFM) turn the estimated 2,000 to 6,000 Katangese in Angola over to him, but the AFM refused.

►Allies of MPLA.

During the Angolan civil war the Katangese were once again called upon to offer their fighting skills as the price of protection—the question was which of the three nationalist movements to join. The FNLA, with its umbilical attachment to Mobutu, was automatically viewed as an enemy; and when UNITA began to cozy up to Mobutu and the FNLA in mid-1975, the MPLA became the natural ally of the Katangese. They eventually made an important contribution to the MPLA's forces in eastern Angola and were especially critical in taking and holding the important city of Luanda along with the Benguela Railway.

At the conclusion of the fighting in late February 1976 Neto and Mobutu met in Brazzaville to sign an accord normalizing relations between their countries. In the accord Zaire promised to cease all support of the FNLA and FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda) and to expell the leaders and troops of these movements from Zaire. Angola, in turn, promised not to intervene in Zairean affairs. Moreover, President Neto was reported to have also agreed to the return of the exiled Katangese to whom Mobutu promised amnesty but who, according to most observers, almost certainly faced imprisonment or death.

Since the February 1976 accord, Mobutu's continued support for the FNLA and Cabindan separatists in their infiltration into Angola has caused considerable

Continued on page 9.

LABOR

Violent showdown in Kentucky mines

Special to IN THESE TIMES

McCreary County, Ky. The picketline is a throwback to the days when coal mines were organized at the point of a gun. Some of the striking miners carry pistols cowboy style—in holsters worn on their hips. Others openly brandish shotguns, hunting rifles and automatic weapons behind sandbagged positions. Already two men have been wounded. Each night, there is a Vietnam-style firefight somewhere around the mine. The strike is eight months old and there is no end in sight. According to the miners, before it's over, "someone's going to end up killed."

The scene isn't "Harlan County, U.S.A.," but another eastern Kentucky county only 120 miles away.

Here, at Blue Diamond Coal Co.'s Justus mine in Stearns, Ky., several hundred supporters of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are engaged in the region's latest labor war.

►Company rejects miners' safety demands.

Their strike has been conducted without the national publicity that accompanied the union's successful 1973-74 contract battle at Duke Power's Brookside mine in Harlan. But it's shaping up to be no less important to the UMWA's continuing campaign to organize mines that produce millions of tons of non-union coal in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee every year.

Blue diamond is the multi-million dollar Tennessee coal operator responsible for the Scotia mine disaster that took 26 lives last March. Scotia played a big part in the UMWA's successful organizing drive at the Stearns mine—the only Blue Diamond operation where the union has won a National Labor Relations Board election.

When the Stearns miners voted 126 to 57 for the UMWA a year ago, Scotia had just exploded and safety was their main concern. They had previously been represented by a weak company union like those at other Blue Diamond mines. Under a UMWA contract, they hoped to get a strong safety committee in addition to better pay, pensions, medical coverage and a job-bidding procedure.

Blue Diamond had other plans. The company first delayed NLRB certification of the union's election for four months, until last August. By then, the men were already on strike. Negotiations began in the fall but the company refused to accept the standard provisions of the 1974 contract between the union



The Stearns strike is a throwback to the days when coal mines were organized at the point of a gun.

Photo by Karen Ohmans/UMW Journal

and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

The UMWA wants a miners' safety committee with authority to shut the mine down in case of imminent danger, and a guarantee of an individual miner's right to leave the mine, without penalty, if he thinks he is in danger. Company officials disagree with this "concept" on safety precautions, press reports say, because they claim it would allow the miners to "take over the safety program under their own rule."

In January the company broke off negotiations completely.

►Armed security guards hired.

"Blue Diamond made it clear to us before the election that it had no mines under UMWA contract and didn't intend to have any," one striker said. "Now it looks like we're in for a long fight."

Around-the-clock picketing has kept the Stearns mine shut down since July. But, within the last month, the company has hired armed security guards and prepared to bring in strike-breakers.

A recent shooting incident—provoked by the guards—became the basis for a local court injunction limiting picketing.

Five miners have been arrested and two face contempt charges for allegedly violating the court order. A major picketline confrontation is expected if the company tries to work the mine.

Wives, sisters, and mothers of the strikers have also joined the struggle by picketing the McCreary County courthouse to protest violence by company guards and the use of Kentucky state troopers to escort them onto Blue Diamond property.

The heavily armed miners continue to mass picket at the mine itself, using private property they have rented next to the main entrance to avoid the injunction. The area around the mine "is like a battlefield," says Joe Perry, the McCreary County Sheriff. "There are sandbags on the picket side of the road leading to the mine, because there's been so much shooting. Over on the company property, the guards have sandbags where they sit."

Perry is apprehensive that shootings and other incidents could escalate into a bloody confrontation between strikers and company security guards, especially if the company tries to bring in scabs. "Anything could happen. I don't think these men are going to let somebody come in and take their jobs," he explains.

►Miners ready for long strike.

The union is stepping up publicity about the strike and plans a demonstration at Blue Diamond's corporate headquarters in Knoxville next month.

UMWA officials and miners alike realize that if the union is to continue its long, slow come-back in the region, it will have to win at Stearns. UMWA organizing victories in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee have been few and far between since Brookside because of bitter resistance by operators like Blue Diamond.

The Brookside strike alone cost over \$2 million and the life of one miner—a price the union can't afford to pay each time it organizes a new mine and has to strike for a first contract.

According to UMWA organizers on the scene, however, the Stearns strikers are a stronger group than the Brookside miners and ready for a longer strike.

"The company has been scabbing here since 1953 and they don't want to stop," one striker said. "People have seen how they were capable of murdering at Scotia and getting away with it. But I'll tell you one thing, buddy. They're not going to get 26 of us here."

A new draft?

Continued from page 3.

consideration for the long-term effects of such a drastic step," he said. Nunn carefully added that he foresaw alternatives to simply returning to the old draft system.

It was left to Dr. King and other witnesses from major "think-tanks" and universities to lend substance to Nunn's position. In his presentation, King noted that the all-volunteer force was launched at a time when optimal conditions for recruitment existed, and that after a shaky start, it has been successful until recently in filling its recruitment quotas. Several factors were responsible for this success, said King:

- There was a 40 percent overall reduction in U.S. military forces, from a Vietnam peak of 3.5 million to the current 2.1 million.

- Today's pool of 17-18 year old males—the recruiter's main target population—is unusually high—2.15 million. But it is slowly shrinking. By the early 1990s this group is expected to decline to 1.6 million men.

- Record unemployment among young people (19 percent for white 18 year olds, 37 percent for blacks) created "economic conscription" that drove tens of thousands of youths into the military.

As these factors have begun to change, recruiting problems have intensified and seem certain to grow worse.

King's solution? "A major new program of national service—a minimally-coercive program that requires registration, vocational and medical diagnosis and counselling, but which still relies on volunteer service." He estimates the cost of such a program, if closely coordinated with local governments and private charities, to be \$8 billion per year.

►Other options.

King's co-panelists, Prof. Richard Cooper of the RAND Institute, Dr. Martin Binkin of the Brookings Institute and Prof. Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago, were divided on the need and feasibility of a national service scheme.

The RAND and Brookings representatives both argued that the all-volunteer force has, by and large, succeeded and that if certain "management changes" are made, most of the current problems can be solved. They recommended the following:

- Increase the recruitment of women, who are still only six percent of all personnel—although there was a 21 percent drop

in female enlistment during the last quarter of 1976.

- "Civilianization of jobs not essentially military and capital investment wherever possible to make military less reliant on costly manpower.

- Continue to squeeze personnel costs wherever equitable. Cooper cited a recent study that found officers received 30 percent more in total compensation than civilians doing comparable work.

Prof. Morris Janowitz, on the other hand, flatly endorsed a comprehensive national service system, although he advised substituting the word, "community" for "national," saying it would be more palatable to blacks and many young people. Janowitz is probably the most influential academic in the country on the subject of military personnel policies and several of his books are considered classics in the field of military sociology.

Janowitz attributes the military's current problems to the fact that it was transformed from a "cadre military" to a "force-in-being." Put simply, he means that the traditional American practice of maintaining a relatively small permanent corps into which millions of recruits are rapidly mobilized ended with World War II. Although we now have a large, highly complex permanent force, many assumptions and old practices have been carried over from the old days. This has caused many of the present difficulties, Janowitz says.

He advocates revamping the military to reflect its changed mission and composition. A "force-in-being" depends upon highly-trained and motivated specialists being recruited and retained. Old-style "time-servers" and tradition-bound romantics are viewed as distinct liabilities.

Janowitz views the creation of a comprehensive "community service" system as an integral component of this restructuring. "We couldn't go back to forced conscription, even if we wanted to. A small minority is capable of disrupting such a program—as Vietnam demonstrated," he warned.

He envisions a service-system that would eventually involve three out of every four young people. It would offer a wide variety of training programs and job assignments, from rural conservation work to urban housing projects. In addition, it would guarantee the military 40,000 new recruits every year.

No clear position emerged from the testimony, but future hearings are planned and it is clear that the future of the all-volunteer military will continue to be an issue in the Congress.

The resolution of this debate will have impact not only upon issues of broad national significance but will directly touch the lives of nearly every American family.

Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign are coordinators of Citizens Soldier in New York City.

LABOR

Photo by UPI



Robert Strauss, new chief trade negotiator for the U.S. in the Tokyo Round talks.

Changing views on world trade

By Bonnie Potter

Labor leaders seemed to have developed a reflex response these days to the naming of new administration officials. After observing the phenomenon the other day in William DuChessi, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union, I have named it the "grin-and-bear-it" syndrome.

DuChessi was assuring me that the appointment of former Democratic National Committee chairman Robert Strauss as chief U.S. trade negotiator was a "pleasant surprise" to organized labor. This despite the fact that millionaire-lawyer-banker-businessman Strauss, who only a few years ago had precipitated an AFL-CIO bolt from the Democratic party, had not been organized labor's first choice for the important trade position. In fact, labor had not even submitted Strauss' name.

DuChessi and other leaders of organized labor have been playing a delicate game with the Carter administration. They are uncomfortable with Carter, but after eight lean years they are trying to squeeze out everything they can before the

honeymoon—or in this case, marriage of convenience—is over. Says DuChessi of Strauss, "We can't take a whack at the man before things get going."

DuChessi is concerned about multilateral trade negotiations, stalled due to the continuing crises and uncertainties of the Nixon-Ford administrations since 1973. (The negotiations were originally christened the "Nixon Round," but trade experts changed it to the Tokyo Round, fearing the talks already faced enough stumbling blocks to completion.)

Representatives of some 96 countries have been waiting for the Carter negotiating team to get itself together so the talks can finally get going. They hope to reduce or eliminate tariffs and other barriers to trade, such as export subsidies, import and export quotas, standards for packaging, and so forth. As Special Trade Representative, Robert Strauss will head the U.S. negotiating team.

The labor movement has an enormous stake in these negotiations. Earlier efforts at trade liberalization—chiefly in the form of tariff reductions following the "Kennedy Round" of the 1960s—led to a deluge of lower-priced imports into the U.S. market. One Labor department source es-

America's trading partners have lowered their tariffs, but they have found other ways to restrict access to their markets and give their own exporters advantages over American producers.

timates those imports have cost 100,000 to 500,000 U.S. jobs a year.

But such aggregate figures hardly communicate the anxieties of organized labor or individual workers. Every time a worker loses a job he loses seniority, pension rights and health insurance.

Moreover, workers in the labor-intensive industries that have been hardest hit by imports are not easy to place in new jobs. Many are middle-aged; a large proportion are women; and in many parts of the country a high proportion are members of minority groups. These are precisely the people who cannot easily be retrained, reshuffled and reslotted—even supposing there are jobs there to be filled.

The irony is that the unions, now labeled "protectionist," actually supported the "comparative advantage" theory behind these trade negotiations. Organized labor supported every liberal trade initiative from the first Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934 up to and including the Kennedy Round. The belief was that tariff reductions would stimulate demand for American goods. It was recognized that some job losses would be incurred, but labor believed that, on the whole, gains would outweigh losses.

Experience with the Kennedy Round, however, proved this not to be true. America's trading partners have lowered their tariffs, but they have found other ways to restrict access to their markets and give their own exporters advantages over American producers.

The Japanese, for instance, complained bitterly this month when the U.S. International Trade Commission, an independent agency that investigates trade matters, recommended a tariff on imported television sets. At the same time, a Commerce department study noted that a key element in Japan's penetration of the American market was its ability "to bar U.S. and other foreign-made consumer electronic products from its own domestic market..."

The Japanese were able to restrict their own market, the report explained, through the use of import quotas, and the refusal to grant the necessary import and currency exchange licenses.

Japan is not alone in such practices. Governments in both developed and developing countries subsidize their industries through tax credits so their products can enter the American market more cheaply. And sometimes the industries themselves "dump" their products—selling them cheaply and taking a loss—to gain a foothold in the American market.

What has been galling to labor is that the administration has seemed to look the other way while all this was going on. Laws on the books to restrict these practices are rarely applied. The Treasury department, which is supposed to investigate charges of unfair trade practices such as subsidies and dumping, has kept cases endlessly under investigation.

A 1962 "escape clause" provision al-

lowing quotas or other forms of restriction when U.S. industries are being seriously damaged by the import competition was never applied. And financial assistance to workers who lost their jobs due to trade, has been almost equally as difficult to come by.

It is little wonder that labor opposed the 1974 trade legislation that authorized U.S. participation in the Tokyo Round. That opposition won it the label of "protectionist," but "cynical" and "mistrustful" might have been more appropriate.

Labor now enters the Tokyo Round with an eye to cutting its losses, rather than making any gains. And this is where Robert Strauss could prove a blessing from heaven—or the opposite.

The negotiators, for instance, will have the power to lower or eliminate duties on many products. Labor leaders would like certain industries, already on the brink of extinction, exempted from this exercise (shoes, textiles and certain electronic products might qualify in that category). They would even like to see some tariffs negotiated upward. They point out that the 1974 Trade Act would permit the negotiators to do this.

Labor also wants to make sure the negotiations are carried out on a "sectoral basis," with concessions bargained industry for industry. They fear above all a trade-off with agriculture. The administration is eager to open up the highly lucrative and highly protected Common Market to American agricultural products. In such a trade-off, industry would be unlikely to come out on top.

Labor leaders are hoping that Strauss will at least listen to their advice. An elaborate committee structure was set up in the 1974 legislation to require the negotiators to solicit the views of labor, business, agriculture and consumer interests. But as Steelworker president I.W. Abel told a Senate oversight committee last year, "the meetings of the committees have been largely 'educational,' more designed to teach us the technicalities of trade and to give us the views of the administration rather than to get advice on the implications of this enormous trade negotiation for the well-being of the working people..." Abel related to the committee one example where the unions learned that the administration had already acted in Geneva on international standards and subsidies codes before the unions had provided any advice.

As for Strauss, he has already backed down slightly on the free trade rhetoric. "I am not a free trader," he recently told the *Washington Post*. Labor's only hope—aside from an enlightened and aggressive domestic employment policy—is to hold Strauss to his words. The prediction from here is that labor leaders will not start bad-mouthing Strauss until—and if—his statement to the *Washington Post* becomes just so much rhetoric, as have past administration pronouncements on trade.

Bonnie Potter is a Washington free-lance writer.

Common site picketing loses in the House

The House of Representatives last week rejected a bill permitting common site picketing, which would have greatly increased the power of building trades unions over non-union contractors. The vote was close, 217 to 205, and represented an unexpected defeat for labor's legislative goals.

Opponents of the bill, along with newspaper accounts and television reports, emphasized that it would allow building trades unions to shut down an entire construction site, leading to higher construction costs and the loss of jobs. Supporters and labor union officials, on the other hand, stressed that it would have granted the same rights to construction unions that industrial unions have.

Specifically, common site picketing

would allow a building trades union to picket an entire construction site over a dispute with one contractor. It would reverse a 1951 Supreme Court decision that found such picketing illegal under the secondary boycott provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The bill's defeat was apparently the result of insufficient lobbying by the AFL-CIO and an intensive campaign by right-wing organizations like the National Right to Work Committee.

The AFL-CIO viewed the bill as "unfinished business" left from the Ford administration. Formulated by then-Labor Secretary John Dunlop, the bill passed Congress in 1975, only to be vetoed by Ford. On several occasions, Ford had promised to sign the bill. Instead, he yielded

to pressure from the Ronald Reagan wing of the Republican party, a move that prompted the resignation of Dunlop and turned the building trades unions—which had tacitly supported Nixon in 1972—against his candidacy.

Observers speculate that labor did not put as much energy into lobbying for the bill because it was considered certain to pass and then be approved by President Carter.

The National Right To Work Committee and other opponents, who reflect the interests of non-union contractors and other small businessmen, on the other hand, mounted a well-financed campaign to have it defeated. Representative Thomas O'Neill received 50,000 pieces of mail against it and virtually none in support,

the *New York Times* reported. If passed, the bill would have made life very difficult for non-union contractors who have taken an increasing amount of work away from construction union members in the current recession.

A less controversial part of the bill would have granted more power to national construction union leaders. It would have set up a Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee composed of top labor officials and employers with the power to impose a cooling-off period after the expiration of a local contract. This provision would have given them more power over feisty union locals and was seen as a "trade-off" for the common site picketing section. ■

—Dan Marshall

THE CITIES

Tom Bradley sews up Los Angeles

By Bob Gottlieb

"The dirtiest, most vicious election in L.A. history" one challenger called it. In the middle of the night residents in the white suburban San Fernando Valley received phone calls from people who identified themselves as the "Watts Committee for Bradley." Bumper stickers were covertly issued by the other side that painted a black fist on a red background with the words "Bradley Power" in bold. Press releases suggested the city would be under siege by militants, Black Panthers, SDS, dynamiters and their friends in the event of a Bradley victory. Bradley's opponent, Mayor Sam Yorty; the year, 1969.

Four years later black city councilman Tom Bradley had pulled his act together. He emphasized his 20 years on the L.A. police force, ran a low key campaign, stage-managed by David Garth and Associates, the media p.r. firm, and attacked Yorty on corruption, junketing, and a pro-oil, anti-environmental perspective. He pulled together an effective coalition of liberal, civil rights, environmental and even some radical labor activists, as well as financial backing from liberal businessmen such as Max Palevsky.

Yorty, on the other hand, was unable to capitalize on attempts at racial polarization, and found an increasing reluctance on the part of the commercial and industrial interests to back him all the way. Business smelled a new winner. In June 1973, Tom Bradley rolled to victory with 55 percent of the vote. He was the first black mayor in the third largest city in the country.

► Election April 5th.

On April 5th Los Angeles voters will go to the polls to decide whether Tom Bradley deserves a second term. His two principal challengers, California State Sen. Alan Robbins and the "taxpayer's advo-

The mayor relies on a commanding lead in the polls, a formidable financial war chest provided by the largest business interests in the community, and a political strategy that has shifted increasingly to the right.

Photos by Sherry Rayn Barnett



cate" Howard Jarvis, are desperately seeking to box Bradley into a corner much as Sam Yorty did eight years earlier.

They paint him as the "establishment" candidate, and make subtle references to racial issues in hopes of reviving an earlier climate. But the challengers are shadow boxing, unable to confront Bradley in public, as the mayor relies on a commanding lead in the polls, a formidable financial war chest provided by the largest business interests in the community, and a political strategy that has shifted increasingly to the right to preempt his challenger's attacks.

On the sidelines are Bradley's old supporters—his liberal/consumer/environmental/civil rights coalition—wondering how it all came about.

When Bradley took office in June 1973 the liberal/left grouping had high expectations, but little strategy or organizational muscle to use with their man in City Hall. The business forces, on the other hand, mobilized quickly.

A crusty group of powerful corporate figures, then called the Committee of 25, which comprised some of the most powerful business elders in the region, quickly swung into action. Though the group made no formal decision as such, it still passed on its thoughts to interested parties, and it immediately got Bradley's ear. During the 1973-74 "energy crisis," the Committee of 25 let it be known that it preferred Harold Williams, Dean of the UCLA Business School (and recently mentioned as possible Carter nominee for head of the Securities and Exchange Commission) to head up Bradley's new energy committee. Shortly after, Williams was officially appointed L.A.'s "energy czar."

► An airtight alliance with business.

Within the year the Bradley/business alliance became airtight. Bradley backed a downtown redevelopment plan that strongly favored the large corporate and commercial interests such as ARCO, Security Pacific Bank and the Carter-Hawley-Hale department store monolith that maintain corporate headquarters in the downtown rim. As mayor, he endorsed (and co-chaired a support committee with ARCO's president Thornton Bradshaw) a fixed-rail transportation system that would have exclusively served downtown and the "Wilshire corridor," the stretch of Los Angeles real estate dominated by the large savings and loans, banks, large law firms, and major corporate offices.

He also opposed a "lifeline" utility reform coalition measure for the city-owned Department of Water and Power (DWP) that would have reversed the current rate structure by lowering consumer rates and increasing commercial and industrial rates, going along with rate increases. He appointed several corporate executives such as Prudential Insurance's Frederick Schnell and Security Pacific Bank's Oscar Lawlor to be his financial advisors; and he created a special blue-ribbon committee on finances that consisted of the town's top merchants, bankers, and industrialists. The committee was designed to come up with proposals to avert a New York-style budget crisis. Their recommendations: eliminate and/or lower the wage gains of public employee organizations.

By the winter of 1974 Bradley had emerged as the consummate pro-business mayor—a dinner honoring his Honor to pay off his huge 1973 campaign debt was cohosted by the powerful Lew Wasserman of MCA and Asa Call, Mr. Big in local business circles, with those in attendance reading straight out of the *Los Angeles Blue Book*.

► The "blue ribbon" commission strategy.

Bradley's favorite *modus operandi* was the "blue-ribbon committee"—an instrument, he told *IN THESE TIMES*, that serves as a rational means to come up with the most effective method to deal with a particular issue. Though such com-

mittees are predominantly staffed by pro-business individuals, they will at times also include representatives from consumer, environmental, or labor groups, providing a much vaunted "access." "Sure we get access" utility reform activist Tim Brick told *IN THESE TIMES*; "but we still get rate increases too. And the [blue ribbon] committee keeps on meeting, dragging on now past a year, with the same rate structure still intact. And the community representatives on these committees stop attending, leaving the field to the lawyers and the businessmen. The only thing we have going for us is whatever power we can muster. It's all a question of power."

► Enter Alan Robbins.

Into this situation stepped Alan Robbins, a boyish-faced 34 year old State Senator from the suburban San Fernando Valley. Robbins, owner of several condominiums and an erstwhile real estate speculator, came out of the world of suburban real estate schemes and development packages that have blighted the southern California landscape for more than 70 years (development schemes, ironically enough, put together by powerful "downtown" business figures).

Developers backed Robbins in his first try for political office in 1973, when he successfully ran for a vacant State Senate seat in a special election. Once in office, Robbins distinguished himself with the introduction of "special-interest" legislation that favored his backers as well as keeping a keen eye for the type of political issues that could advance his career.

One of his successful bills, the Robbins Rape Evidence Law, passed in 1974, became one of his themes for his campaign for mayor. Praised by such diverse people as L.A. Police Chief Ed Davis and various women's groups (though attacked by civil liberties advocates for limiting the rights of defendants), the measure limits the use of a rape victim's past sexual experiences as evidence during a trial. Though Robbins claims credit for the passage of the bill (he hands out rape whistles whenever he talks on the campaign trail) women's groups explain that though Robbins' support was welcomed he did not play the exclusive nor even the key role in securing its passage.

Robbins' second major issue was criticism of the downtown redevelopment plan, calling it a "tax ripoff" because of its special "tax increment" financing mechanisms (a complex procedure that in effect diverts money ordinarily earmarked for general county expenses such as education and health and places it in a fund to be used for the redevelopment area), and a scheme to fleece the suburbs for the needs of the downtown establishment.

Robbins' ultimate weapon, however, is his strong anti-busing stand and support for the growing white "BusStop" organization centered in the San Fernando Valley. As the busing issue emerged in the area this past year, Robbins hoped his campaign would be perceived as a focus for covert and overt anti-black sentiments in the white community. As part of his strategy Robbins backed several anti-busing candidates running for the Board of Education and demanded that Bradley take a stand on busing.

► Attacking from all sides.

The Robbins strategy is to attack Bradley from both the right and the left: identify oneself as a conservative and a "populist" candidate, opposed to both black insurgencies and the downtown business establishment; try to appeal to both the supporters of Tom Hayden and right-wing Republicans. Though himself a Democrat, Robbins lined up conservative Republican support, including the selection of former Nixon aide Kenneth Reitz as his campaign manager.

To compound the election line-up, right-wing candidate Howard Jarvis entered the race a few days before the filing deadline. Jarvis attacked public spending programs and social reforms in the name of proper-

ty tax relief, contending that government is "evil" and questioning whether government ought to be involved in such functions as collecting garbage, maintaining the library system, running recreation and parks programs, and getting involved in zoning or building inspections. Though Jarvis banked on the developing property tax issue, he had little organization to back his candidacy and at most could play only a "spoiler" role. If Jarvis captured enough protest votes he could force Bradley into a runoff by keeping the mayor's vote total under 50 percent (if no candidate receives the 50 percent in the April primary, a runoff election between the two highest vote-getters occurs in June).

To meet the Robbins/Jarvis challenge Bradley has moved steadily right, deserting his erstwhile allies by attacking busing, talking like a fiscal conservative and trying to preempt the property tax reform advocates. Bradley's position was strengthened when the organization that grew out of the Tom Hayden for Senate campaign decided against fielding a mayoral candidate on the ground that Bradley's liberal image was still largely untarnished, thanks in part to a friendly *Los Angeles Times*.

The Bradley strategy seems to be paying off, and avoiding direct confrontation with his opposition, Bradley has managed to maintain his dignified, reasonable, head-of-office air, while Robbins is increasingly perceived as a sleazy, shifting politician. Comparing the two candidates, one local publication put it succinctly: "Is this the Tom Bradley we elected to office?" And about Robbins: "Is this the man *anyone* would elect to office?"

Therein lies the rub.

Bob Gottlieb is a free-lance reporter in Los Angeles and is coauthor with Irene Wolt of an upcoming history of the *Los Angeles Times*.

By the winter of '74 Bradley had emerged as the consummate probusiness mayor. On the sidelines are his old supporters—his liberal/consumer/environmental/civil rights coalition—wondering how it all came about.



THE CITIES

Detroit's Renaissance Center hides decay

By Robert Miller

Detroit. The opening of the \$337 million Renaissance Center here is "symbolic of the resurging spirit of Detroit." At least that is the view from the office of Mayor Coleman Young and the Chamber of Commerce. To the more pragmatic, it marks the beginning of an effort to revitalize the downtown area, to lure conventioners and suburban shoppers into spending their money within the city's limits.

For the less optimistic, however, the "Ren. Cen.," which is the largest private development of its kind in the world, is little more than a majestic tomb presiding over a dying city and its struggling population.

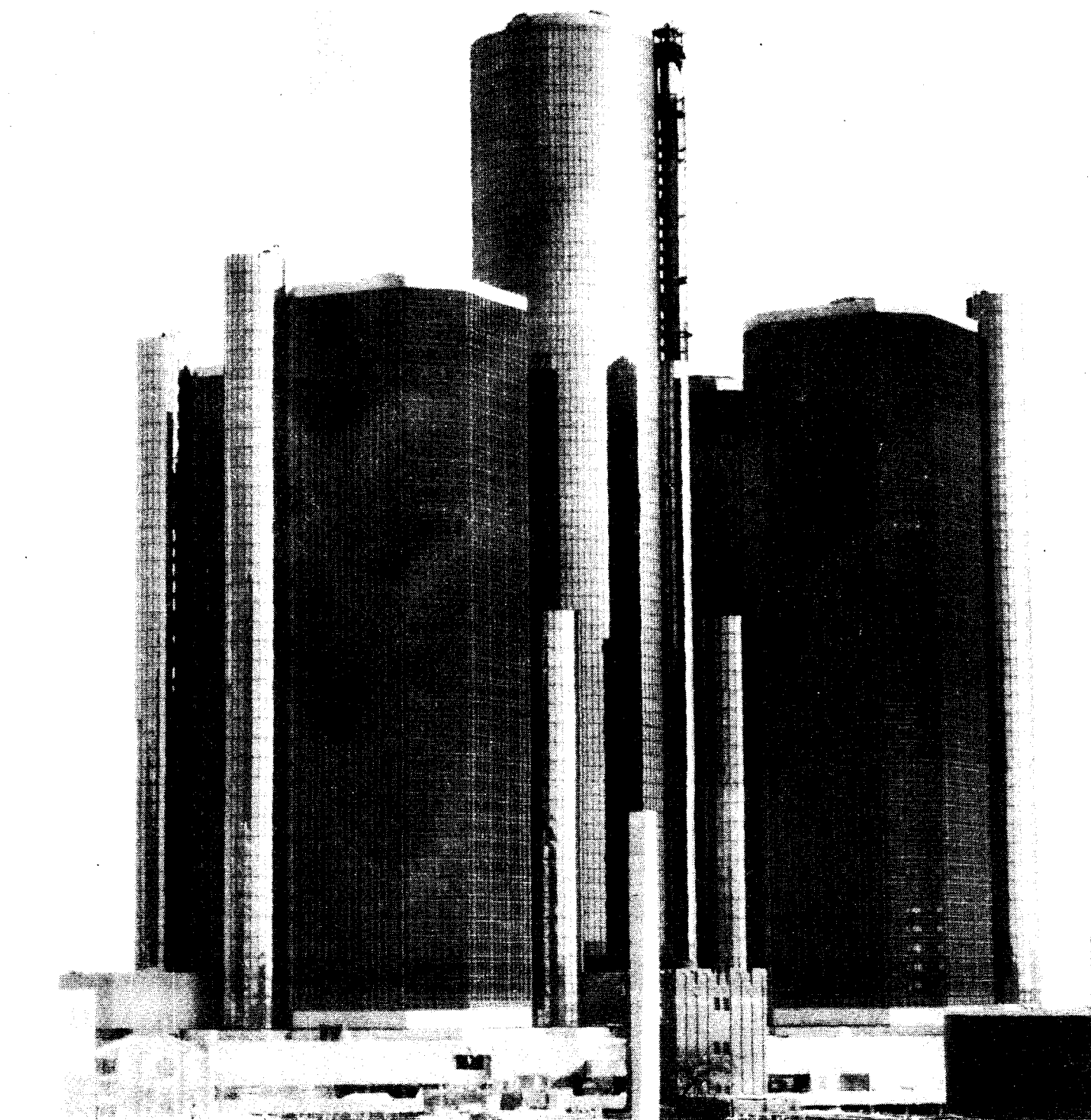
Following the Detroit riots of 1967 and the most wide-spread and costly of hundreds of urban rebellions throughout the U.S., Detroit's business and social elite formed a self-appointed blue ribbon New Detroit committee. This organization intended to put an end to urban unrest with a vast building program designed to replace inner-city squalor with the sleek new architecture of modern office buildings, banks, condominiums, hotels, convention attractions and a host of related enterprises. The program was meant to stimulate economic development, create jobs, and provide social stability and confidence for a troubled city.

Henry Ford II, a member of the New Detroit committee, has been the major inspiration behind the center as well as its leading investor with \$60 million at stake. The centerpiece of the complex, the 73-story glass-encased Plaza Hotel, is surrounded by four towering office buildings. The Ren. Cen. mall will house over 100 specialty shops.

Instead of enhancing the appearance of downtown Detroit, however, the center, surrounded by Detroit Riverfront on one side and a two-story concrete wall on the other, may well intimate that a fortified contingent from the suburbs has arrived to take charge.

And, just as the suburbs have drawn business from downtown Detroit, there is concern that the Renaissance Center will further depress the downtown area by providing facilities and accommodations far above that offered by downtown competitors and will further depress downtown business. Already, three hotels in the downtown area have closed in the last year and the vacancy rate for commercial realty is growing.

The economic future of Detroit, even with an upturn in service sector activity, is far from bright. A recent survey by the Detroit Planning Department, for instance, shows that the city lost nearly one-fifth of its manufacturing industry in the last five years.



A host of problems plague efforts at rehabilitation. Redlining, the practices of blocking out entire neighborhoods or sectors of the city and refusing loans, mortgages and insurance to those areas, has had a devastating effect. Forms of redlining have mushroomed in the last six months, according to Stephen Weiss, a staff member of the state Insurance Bureau.

"Next to education and crime, it ranks as the major reason why people are moving from Detroit," says City Council president Carl Levin. Detroit's population has dropped to 1.3 million from over 1.7 million seven years ago.

Moreover, "Detroit was hit hard by the HUD scandal," says a city housing official.

"Twenty thousand houses went through the HUD mill." By bribing housing inspectors, realtors were able to sell houses in poor condition, which then had to be vacated later after residents realized the extent of repairs needed. "It hit the working class neighborhoods the hardest. Oh yes, HUD really screwed us."

Crime, unemployment, a bankrupt school system and the highest rate of heroin use in the country also call into question the viability of a "rebirth" in Detroit.

Following the past summer of gang violence, William Serrin, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist from the *Detroit Free Press* wrote in the pages of the *New York Times*, "The city is in a desperate condition. It may, in a real sense, be dead—

the first dead large city in the nation."

He continued, "Taking the money and running is an old game in this country. It was not invented by the black gangs on the Detroit East Side. Old Henry Ford took his money and ran to Dearborn a long time ago and the downtown merchants have been doing the same for years. This is the way this nation was built. This is the way this country was built. This is a country of selfish people seeking comfort in money. That is what is ruining Detroit and what is ruining this country.... Nothing is going to change in Detroit and cities like it across the nation. Those of us here know it and that is why we are in such despair."

Robert Miller is a writer living in Detroit.

Two primary victories for Ypsilanti socialists

By Eric Jackson

Socialists in Ypsilanti, Mich., are gearing up for city elections, having won two out of three Democratic city council primaries that they had entered. A socialist mayoral candidate, however, was soundly defeated in the primary, polling 26 percent against his three-term incumbent opponent.

Winning the student-dominated Ward 4 primary was David Nicholson, who beat a two-term incumbent by 36 votes. If, as expected, Nicholson wins the general election, Ward 4 will be represented by two socialists.

An expected socialist victory in Ward 3 failed to materialize as the election day "turn out the vote machine" broke down in the face of an opposition media blitz and a ban on door-to-door campaigning in university dormitories. The losing margin was 40 votes.

gin was 40 votes.

The most significant socialist victory, though, was in Ward 5, which is solidly working class. Socialist candidate Pete Murdock won there by a 2-1 margin, the first time that a socialist has won in one of Ypsilanti's non-student wards. Murdock, a former UAW safety steward, beat the president of his old local in the Feb. 21 primary. Many rank-and-file union members and non-socialist Democratic party regulars worked on this victory. Murdock faces a Republican incumbent in the April 4th election.

The Ward 4 race is considered to be the easiest to win, as the Republicans have never come close to winning there. The Republican candidate, a 60-year-old insurance salesman, has little appeal to student voters.

Ward 5 will not be as easy to win. However, last year's combined Democrat/Hu-

man Rights party vote was seven votes more than the winning GOP total. A voter registration drive that took place after the primary added 130 new voters, mostly from low-income housing projects, to the voting list. Thus, a socialist victory in this ward is possible.

Ypsilanti Democratic Socialist Caucus is also considering the possibility of a write-in campaign in the Third Ward. Opinions on this issue are divided, with some maintaining that it would divert funds and energy from other races, while others take the position that a low-budget campaign with an improved organization could win.

Also on the ballot is a proposal to eliminate the present testing procedure for recruiting city fire fighters. Presently there is only one (out of 34) black fire fighter and there are no female fire fighters. The city's labor force is 20 percent black and slightly over half female.

The testing procedure is under attack not only because it tests for irrelevant skills, but also because it grades applicants on matters like "appearance," "oral communications skills," and "self-confidence." Worse yet, minimum height and weight standards were recently raised in order to exclude most female applicants.

Socialists and liberals joined forces to put this issue on the ballot. They are opposed by the fire fighters' union, Republicans and various other forces.

Given socialist losses in Ward 3 and the mayoral race, it is now impossible for a socialist city council majority to be seated this year. However, it is very likely that socialists will outnumber liberals after the election. Thus, many socialist proposals will stand a better chance to be passed.

Eric Jackson is a socialist member of the Ypsilanti City Council.

FOCUS ON WOMEN



Photo by Jane Melnick

Girl Scouts right after swearing-in: should they take a position on the ERA? The Board of Directors supports it; some object.

Inez Garcia wins in 2nd trial

After a trial that lasted less than three weeks, Inez Garcia was found not guilty of a second degree murder March 4 in Salinas, Calif.

It was her second trial for murder stemming from the shooting of Miguel Jimenez, a man who helped another rape her.

During her first trial in October 1974, her defense attorney portrayed her as an unstable woman temporarily in the grip of violent emotions. The rape was ruled as inadmissible evidence; she was convicted and served 15 months in prison.

A new trial was won on the basis that the judge's instructions to the jury that the rape was not an issue was in error. Susan Jordan, her attorney, then built a defense around Garcia's right to defend herself from rape. Jordan believes changes in attitude toward rape made by the women's movement were a big factor in Garcia's acquittal.

Garcia and her defense committee, currently in debt, plan to continue to fight for the rights of rape victims.

For more information: Viva Inez, 585 14th St., Oakland, CA 94612.

Nuclear industry courts women

The nuclear power industry is planning a special effort to sell women on nuclear energy.

The vehicle for the persuasion campaign is Nuclear Energy: Women, or NEW, a nationwide organization of women working in public relations jobs with utilities or nuclear manufacturing firms.

President of NEW is Angelina Howard, director of educational services for Duke Power in Charlotte, N.C. Howard was approached by the Atomic Industrial Forum—trade association for the nuclear industry—last December and asked to take over and "recharge" the dormant women's educational group.

Forum leaders had become concerned over the many anti-nuclear organizations initiated by women, Howard explains.

"Men respect the soundness of business judgments, even if they aren't knowledgeable about nuclear power. But women place it on an emotional level. When critics say nuclear power can hurt their children, their protective maternal instincts get riled."

(Bob McMahon)

Winning pregnancy coverage

Action to reverse the Supreme Court decision of December 1976 that ruled corporations were not discriminating if they refused to cover pregnancy as a disability is underway.

The Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers is an ad hoc group working to unite women's and other interested groups to press for legislation to reverse the decision.

The ruling, the campaign says, makes pregnancy a financial hardship or a lux-

ury for the well-to-do. "Most women—like most men—work because they need the money. Many young mothers cannot afford not to work. Even when an employer forces pregnant women out of the workforce, most return to work as soon as they can," says Susan Deller Ross, co-chair of the campaign.

Industry claims the high cost of benefits would be prohibitive. Campaign organizers point out that the medically defined disability period is relatively short, less than six weeks for 95 percent of pregnant women. The law now forces women to quit their jobs or take time off without pay, while men covered under disability policies may claim benefits for complications from ski accidents or hair transplants.

On the legislative end, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Cal.) is introducing a bill, co-sponsored by over 50 other representatives, to reverse the decision. The bill, according to Hawkins, would "prohibit all types of sex discrimination in employment, including sex discrimination on the basis of pregnancy."

For more information: Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers, c/o Susan Deller Ross, 22 E. 40th St., New York, NY 10016.



Photo by Cathy Cade

Jean Maddox: labor heroine

Jean Maddox/The Fight for Rank and File Democracy is a loving portrait of a labor heroine, founder of the California organization Union WAGE. The biography traces Maddox's independent childhood, her early work years (she once kicked a boss who fired her from a waitress job; a boycott organized by Civilian Conservation Corps customers won her job back) and her years as a union organizer and leader until her death in 1976.

"Jean Maddox became one of the role models I never had when I was growing up," says author Pamela Allen. Maddox fought hard to organize women into unions, and later, as president of Local 29, she led struggles against the leadership of Office and Professional Employees International Union, who found her local's stance on union democracy, women's rights, the Vietnam war and the Farmworkers irritating. Local 29 went into trusteeship on a technicality.

The second half of the book describes the fight to regain control of Local 29. \$1.00 plus 35¢ postage from Union WAGE, P.O. Box 462, Berkeley, CA 94701.

Girl Scouts and the ERA

In Boca Raton, Fla., there are Girl Scouts wearing their pins upside down. In Austin, Texas, Girl Scouts burned their uniforms. In Savannah, Ga., some scouts are refusing to sell their cookies.

It's all in protest of the Board of Directors of the National Girl Scouts endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment on Jan. 30.

Maureen Le Pree, Boca Raton Girl Scout leader, insists, "When you are a Girl Scout, you are non-political."

Scouts organizations in many states, however, had already endorsed the ERA, and several had actively supported its passage in state legislatures.

Abortion clinic workers strike

Women workers at Preterm Clinic in Brookline, Mass., a suburb of Boston, have been on strike for five months, picketing every day throughout the record-breaking cold winter.

The strike has ramifications for a huge market that opened up in the wake of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Chains of abortion clinics, using women's movement rhetoric have sprung up across the country. These clinics are often called "non-profit," "but that doesn't mean that people aren't making an incredible amount of money from them," explains Naomi Fatt of Healthright, a woman's health group. "Non-profit means that it's all shoved back in the business. But what they do is pay very high salaries." Jan Levin, wife of Preterm's founder, receives \$73,000 a year as director of the Brookline Clinic, for instance.

Such clinics have so far resisted unionization. Workers are often attracted to the job because they want to help women or the feminist movement, but they often find the clinics exploitative. At Preterm, the staff watched the clinic cut back on the less profitable gynecological services while hurrying patients through for the more lucrative abortions. "It was turning into an abortion mill," says Louise Rice, one of the striking counselors.

The main strike issues at Preterm are union recognition (the workers won an election in May 1975 but Preterm has refused to negotiate) and job security.

"When you're working at a place like this, you need a union contract even to be able to speak up on issues like the quality of care Preterm gives," says Rice.

The National Labor Relations Board has been hearing the case for over a month. "Preterm is stalling as long as they can, but in the end the board will force them to negotiate," says Rice.

Although Preterm has hired 20 scabs to replace the 50 strikers, the picketing has cut business in half. On Feb. 5, 900 people marched two and a half miles in a blizzard to demonstrate support. "The strike is exhausting, but we have lots of friends. We're committed to fighting until they settle and we can go back to work," says Rice.

Contributions to the strike can be sent to Jean Williams, 6 Washington Ave., #14, Cambridge, MA 02140.

Textbook Sexism: subtler but alive

Sexism in elementary school textbooks has become less overt but still exists, concludes a report presented at the founding convention of the National Women's Studies Association.

In a number of texts supposedly rewritten to eliminate sex bias within the past two years, female characters have simply been eliminated. "Rather than change [women's] roles, they've simply left them out," charges Peggy Noel, an author of the report.

Noel and co-author Maria Patterson, a fellow student at Davidson College, based their conclusions on a study of first, second and third grade texts used in North Carolina. Among their findings:

• Women appear in an increasing number of occupations, but generally as tokens. "Where there were perhaps one

or two female scientists, there were lots of male scientists," Noel notes.

Middle class "happy homes" predominate, without much cultural, ethnic, or economic diversity. "If you're not a middle-class white, you're going to be even more stereotyped."

"When they do show little girls," Patterson noted, "they're just pale imitations of little boys. There was a series of stories about a character named Harriet. She was an all-around kid, played ball and everything, but she was ugly as sin. I just wondered what the company was trying to do there."

The two authors concluded that while the texts showed less blatant sex discrimination, there was little improvement in showing women as individuals in their own right.

(Bob McMahon)



Black Maria

Black Maria is a magazine that publishes poetry, fiction, essays and graphics, "women created, with a strong feminist perspective."

Published quarterly, the magazine is named for "the big, black paddy wagons that were always available to give the suffragettes a lift."

Like most similar magazines, Black Maria finds good poetry easier to get than fiction or essays. A recent issue includes several fine poems, including Alison Colbert's "How are the Girls Doing," which evokes the loneliness of women who don't fit in at every stage of life.

The journal is part of a growing feminist body of art examining women's lives as experienced. Themes include motherhood and nonmotherhood, sexuality (with men, as children, as lesbians), aging, women as artists, and much more.

\$5.00/year (4 issues) from Black Maria, 815 W. Wrightwood, Chicago, IL 60614.

Carter: more broken promises

Only 17 of Carters top appointments have gone to women, and a coalition of 40 national women's groups expressed disappointment on March 19.

D.J. Spencer of National Black Feminist Organization said, "The Carter administration just hasn't made good on commitments made to minority and women's groups." The appointments have also included a disappointingly small number of blacks and latinos.

About 75 top level positions remain to be filled. "We are hopeful that women in the high caliber of those already selected will make up more than half of those vacancies," said Jane P. Mitchell of the National Women's Political Caucus.

The coalition is also pressing for a cabinet-level position that would monitor all departments as they relate to women, and act as an advocate for women in the federal government.

Focus on Women will be a regular feature. If you have items, please send them to Judy MacLean c/o IN THESE TIMES.

IN THE WORLD

China seeks alliance against USSR

By David Milton

It would appear that China faces a troublesome and uneasy transition into the post-Mao era. Devotion to production rather than politics has now become the major theme of the Peking and provincial press, and likewise the need for centralized authority to replace the decentralized political and industrial system that grew out of the Cultural Revolution.

However, if there is a tendency on the part of China's leaders to move away from Mao's domestic policies, there is nothing to suggest that they are ready to jettison his foreign policy.

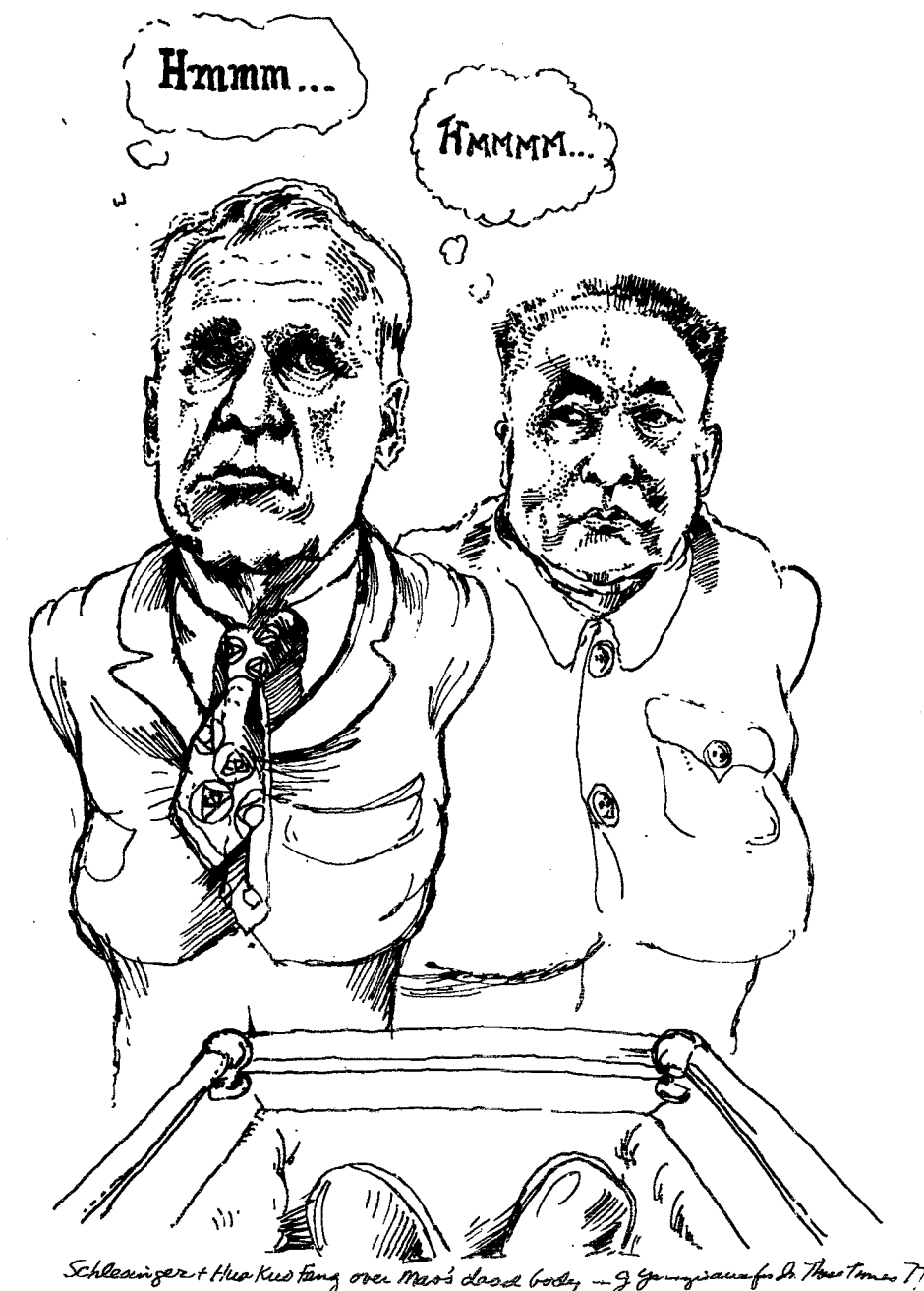
Despite growing evidence that China's foreign policy formulated in the early 1970s has lost its relevance to a complex international system, the new Peking leadership clings to its axiomatic prediction of an inevitable third world war and the repeated warning that the Soviet Army is about to sweep over Europe.

In a world dominated by nuclear superpowers, the notion of a third power holding the balance stands as a relic of bygone ages. Despite the devolution and fragmentation of power in the global areas lying between the two superpowers, the Soviet/American nuclear relationship still retains its unique function determining the life or death of civilization as we know it.

► China courts American rightwing.

Mao and his successors envisioned a Sino-American alliance directed at tipping the balance against the Russians. To achieve this the Chinese courted American right-wing militarists, represented by James Schlesinger, Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan and Henry Jackson.

As the U.S. prepared for a change of administrations, James Schlesinger and his party of military consultants toured China's most sensitive frontier areas, military bases and army training centers. Schlesinger and his team were given the honor of viewing Mao's body lying in state at the Great Hall of the People. Upon returning to the U.S., Schlesinger flew directly to Peking to report to then President-elect Carter. Schlesinger presented Carter with his adventurous plan to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. Schlesinger's idea was to out-produce the Soviets in strategic missiles and overcome American inferiority in ground troops by a direct military alliance with China. The U.S. would provide the hardware and China the troops. But subsequent events indicated that Carter rejected Schlesinger's plan. Carter refused to appoint Schlesinger Secretary of Defense and then gave top priority to SALT negotiations with the Russians while assigning China an inferior position on the coming agenda. The cooler heads in the Carter administration were un-



doubtedly less than enthusiastic about a Chinese strategic scenario that might well lead to a massive nuclear exchange between the two superpowers while the Chinese, entrenched in hundreds of miles of tunnels underneath their great cities, calmly sit out the whole affair.

► No change in nuclear policy.

For one brief moment in February, it appeared that Peking might be rethinking a foreign policy that had produced few positive results in increasing China's influence either among the great powers, the Third World, or among the world left. Carter, soon after his inauguration, met with China's representative in Washington, Haung Ch'en. The American President told the press that in private conversations Haung had told him that China would like to abolish all of its stock of nuclear weapons.

This was a strong card, since China is

the only nuclear power that from the very beginning has stood for the complete abolition of the world stockpile of nuclear weapons and has repeatedly made public China's declaration renouncing a first-strike policy. For many years people on every continent had looked to Peking to lead a world campaign against the two superpowers' nuclear threat to mankind. Instead, China chose the option of playing the Russians and Americans against each other.

But the hope that China might take the initiative in the struggle for genuine nuclear disarmament was shortlived. Either Huang was talking for himself, or perhaps Peking decided to wait and see if Schlesinger and his allies might make a comeback.

Within a few days the *People's Daily* was warning President Carter not to get sucked into a Russian trap by continuing the SALT negotiations; the Sino-Soviet border talks broke down; and Peking

then joined Carter's human rights gambit by declaring that the Russian system of concentration camps had now surpassed in size and brutality the camps run by Himmler in Nazi Germany.

During February, Chairman Hua-Kuo-feng stressed the importance of modernizing China's armed forces and the Western press reported that the Chinese were shopping for advanced weapons in Europe. Whether the Army leaders in China are now demanding payment in full for their role as Kingmakers in the Chinese political realm remains to be seen.

► Great disorder under heaven.

Recently Chinese diplomats have reminded the new Carter administration that during official talks in China both Nixon and Kissinger had made a number of private agreements with Mao Tse-tung on American recognition of Taiwan and other matters. The Chinese suggested that the Americans might make a search for the notes of these meetings. The notes, however, appear to be conveniently lost.

The official reply to China came rapidly from presidential press secretary Jody Powell: "I can say neither the President, nor the Secretary of State, nor anyone in the administration was informed of any secret agreement with the People's Republic of China, nor are they aware of any agreement." Secretary of State Vance, soon to visit China, will arrive unencumbered by any previous American commitments. The Carter administration intends to begin its relations with the PRC with a clean slate.

The two superpowers will, no doubt, continue to deal with China from positions of strength as the Chinese continue to search for some method to escape the squeeze of their more powerful adversaries. In all fairness to the Chinese it must be stated that is not up to them to take the first step in reducing border tensions with the Soviet Union. Moscow, which continues to exert a continuous and unbearable nuclear and conventional military pressure on China's extensive frontiers, must prove its good intentions by reducing its offensively poised armies in Central and Northern Asia. China is not Czechoslovakia. However, Moscow like Washington enjoys great power and utilizes it to control other nations wherever and whenever the opportunity exists.

One can only agree with the Chinese that the present international world can be described as a "great disorder under heaven." Whether that "situation is excellent," as Peking also states, is another question.

David Milton is co-author with Nancy Milton of *The Wind Will Not Subside* (Pantheon) and is a co-editor of *People's China*. He lived in China from 1964 to 1969.

Zaire

Continued from page 3.

problems for Angola. Mobutu even allowed some of his own soldiers to accompany FNLA guerrillas into Angola as late as the end of 1976.

► Angola gives green light.

Given Zaire's open violation of the accord, the Neto regime undoubtedly felt justified in giving the green light to the Katangese who certainly preferred returning home on the offensive to continued exile in a remote part of Angola or even the possibility of being delivered into their enemy's grasp as part of some future accord between Angola and Zaire. (The Angolan government would not, however, have had an easy time "delivering" the Katangese to Mobutu or even restraining them from attacking once they decided that they

had a chance for victory.) Their return momentarily solves the infiltration problem the Angolan government faced from Zaire. It forces Mobutu to channel his military equipment and soldiers away from the FNLA and FLEC and into the battle against the Katangese. It also rids itself of the potential threat to its own security that would have occurred if they decided to turn their military prowess against the Neto regime.

It is highly unlikely that the Katangese or anybody who may have advised them believed that the former gendarmes could march over 1,500 miles to the capital, Kinshasa, and depose Mobutu. They could deliver a severe, if not fatal, blow to the Mobutu regime, however, by simply holding key areas in Shaba.

Shaba is indispensable to Zaire because its copper mines provide between two-thirds and three-quarters of the nation's total foreign exchange earnings. Zaire

provides 67 percent of the world's cobalt, 7 percent of its copper and a third of the world's industrial diamonds. Most of this mineral wealth is located in Shaba, now under attack.

One reason why the Katangese may have been encouraged to attack at this time is the fact that, according to informed sources, there was almost no government force in Shaba, and the forces found there were viewed by the local people more as thieves than protectors of the public order. Irregular government payments to its soldiers help explain the years of unimpeded bullying and robbing by the army and police. The result is that today the Zaire national army is distinguished far more for its harassment rather than protection of citizens.

The humiliating defeats that Mobutu's troops suffered in Angola during the civil war there not only further demoralized the Zairean army but confirmed what Wash-

ington officials had been whispering for years; namely that the Zairean armed forces are still poorly organized, badly equipped, undisciplined and ineffective in battle. Even the large injection of Chinese arms and training since 1973 has not appeared to improve the performance of the Zairean army.

► Greeted as liberators.

There are other reasons for the Katangese to have believed that they would receive support in Shaba. Most of the Katangese soldiers belong to the Lunda-Chokwe ethnic group that is the predominant ethnic group in the Shaba province. Mobutu, hoping to neutralize this ethnic factor, flew to Shaba for a day where he met with the Lunda *Mwata Yamvo* (Lunda Paramount Chief), David Tshombe—a brother of the late Moise Tshombe. Nevertheless,

Continued on page 10.

THE MIDEAST

PLO National Council renews quest for state

By Russ Stettler
Internews

The State Department maintained that practically no change in policy occurred at the week-long Cairo meeting of the Palestine National Council. The official comment from the State department following the adoption of the Palestine Liberation Organization's new 15-point program merely noted that the exile parliament had failed to show any shift on the key question of Israel's right to exist.

Israel's own reaction was even sharper. Foreign minister Yigal Allon said the Cairo resolutions exceeded Israel's "darkest expectations."

But contrary to these interpretations, the final program did represent a position between past positions and a more moderate and flexible one.

►Shadow of Jumblatt's murder.

Very early in the conference, the hard-line Rejection Front faction of the Palestinian guerilla movement made an unexpectedly strong showing in the election of the speaker of the parliament. The moderate incumbent was predictably re-elected, but the Rejection Front candidate garnered over 28 percent of the vote—more than his own supporters had predicted. In addition, many of the early speakers among the delegates viewed as independents seemed to be taking a line much closer to the Rejection Front than to the so-called moderate majority grouped around the leadership of Yasser Arafat.

Two external factors influenced the early mood of the meeting. Just before the deliberations began, President Carter had spoken for expanding the Jewish state beyond the borders of 1967. Even when Carter clarified his remarks, distinguishing between legal boundaries (i.e., the pre-1967 borders) and a wider defense perimeter where Israel might station troops without exercising regional political control, few Arab critics were satisfied.



The President seemed to be saying that his conception of a Mideast settlement might approve the long-term deployment of Israeli troops in occupied Arab lands. No Palestinian delegate to the parliament could endorse a *pax americana* based on anything less than full Israeli withdrawal to its pre-1967 borders.

A few days after the conference opened, the Palestinians' closest ally in Arab politics, Lebanese socialist leader Kamal Jumblatt, was assassinated. Arafat lost his composure as he announced the murder to the National Council. The professional style of the assassination suggested that it was the work of sophisticated foreign intelligence operatives, and it may well have been timed to evoke a tough response from the Palestinians.

Had it provoked a renewal of full-scale fighting in Lebanon, that would have far overshadowed the deliberations in Cairo.

As it was, the outbreak of fighting in Lebanon was curtailed, but the shadow of Jumblatt's murder hung over the council meeting—reminding delegates of a sinister, international conspiracy that had assassinated dozens of their militants, friends and allies in the Middle East and Europe.

►No recognition of Israel.

In spite of everything, the National Council

did manage in the end to confirm Yasser Arafat's leadership and to give him a broad enough mandate to maneuver diplomatically if the PLO is invited to participate in the Geneva peace talks this year. The 15-point program also called for escalating armed actions against Israel—though it remains to be seen whether this resolution will have practical effect on guerilla actions at a time when none of the Arab countries surrounding Israel allows the PLO to operate freely in border raids. More importantly, the National Council endorsed unofficial contacts with Israeli peace activists, speaking of "the importance of relations and coordination with democratic and progressive Jewish forces inside and outside of Israel."

The PLO did not dramatically announce its recognition of Israel or modify its National Charter to renounce the goal of establishing a democratic, secular state throughout all of historical Palestine. But no one seriously believed that the PLO would take such actions unilaterally, since they are the crucial bargaining chips if the PLO does involve itself in negotiations at some future point. The PLO argues that recognition is a matter for states to extend to one another. It cannot contemplate recognition of Israel until there is a Palestinian state.

On the key question of whether the

PLO should seek to create a Palestinian state on the West Bank, the National Council took decisive action. It resolved that "an independent national state" should be created on "national soil"—a formula that is much clearer than past programs that gave only vague endorsement to establishing Palestinian authority over territory liberated from Israeli occupation.

Inside the PLO, left-wing critics of the mini-state charge that it would be too dependent on outside forces—such as Jordan, which would control its trading access to the Arab world, and Saudi Arabia, whose oil wealth would subsidize the West Bank state and regulate its military budget. But in the wake of the civil war in Lebanon, the PLO's majority seems to feel that the organization has already reached its peak of dependence on outsiders and that any degree of national sovereignty would be an improvement.

And so, Arafat has been authorized to pursue the mini-state—even to go to Geneva, provided the PLO is invited and provided the framework of the negotiations is reformulated to speak of Palestinian national rights rather than simply the "refugee problem" mentioned in the UN Security Council's resolution 242 that now provides the basis of the Geneva talks.

The big question is whether the PLO will be invited, and that depends on whether the Carter administration is seriously planning a break from past policy on the Palestinian question. Despite official denials, Carter's remarks about the need for a Palestinian homeland and his brief handshake with the PLO delegate at the UN have been viewed around the world as signals of a new direction in American policy. In this global chess match, it may be months before anything happens; but the next move is clearly Carter's.

Zaire

Continued from page 9.

Mobutu has managed to keep the lid on this smoldering pot through a liberal application of repression... President Carter is being pressured to help Gen. Mobutu—who epitomizes the very type of leader whom Carter has criticized before the UN and elsewhere for violations of human rights.

early reports on the fighting indicate that the Katangese have been greeted as "liberators" in some of the areas they have occupied.

Deterioration of living and economic conditions in Shaba in recent years can be expected to have engendered considerable resentment against the Mobutu regime among the local inhabitants. The people of the province used to buy most of their salt, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, vegetables, tea, cloth and soap from Angola. Since the Angolan civil war, however, these products are no longer available across the border which means that most Shabans must do without them even if they have money to buy them.

In 1974 the Zaire government took over most small businesses and plantations without compensating the previous owners. The spoils were generally divided among party leaders loyal to Mobutu. Many of these new property owners simply sold the merchandise in stock and pocketed the money, without reordering or paying outstanding bills. The result was a severe shortage of goods. The situation became so desperate that this past October Mobutu felt obliged to invite the expatriate businessmen, whose property and businesses had been expropriated, to return to run their former enterprises.

Public services in Shaba have deteriorated so drastically that the government recently asked Gecamines, the Zaire state mining company, to take over the main hospital and run a new luxury hotel in Lu-

bumbashi, the provincial capital of Shaba. Gecamines has also set up a school for the children of its own employees; and its teachers appear to be the only ones in the province who are paid regularly. The churches were also asked some months ago to resume administration of the schools.

Spiraling inflation has placed nearly all products that are available out of reach for most people in Shaba. Moreover, corruption of government and party officials in Shaba has reached such proportions that few residents respect or are loyal to the regime in Kinshasa. In sum, the Mobutu regime has done virtually nothing for the rural areas and very little for the cities in Shaba—not unlike the situation in the rest of Zaire.

►A liberal application of repression.

Mobutu has managed to keep the lid on this smoldering pot through a liberal application of repression. His regime has frequently been cited by Amnesty International for gross violations of human rights. More recently, a report on human rights released by the state department maintains that "the use of force and threat of force in the interrogation of suspected criminals is reportedly common practice in Zaire." The State department report lists allegations of brutal treatment of political prisoners, extended incarceration without trial, "and even death of prisoners under interrogation." President Carter is being pressured to help Gen. Mo-

butu—who epitomizes the very type of leader whom Carter has criticized before the UN and elsewhere for violations of human rights.

It will be extremely difficult for the Carter administration to rationalize more aid to Gen. Mobutu. In addition to the daily violation of human rights in Zaire, Mobutu has been unable to forge a responsible and effective military. Economic and living conditions in both the rural and urban areas have steadily declined under his tutelage and his general mismanagement of the economy has left the country almost \$2 billion in debt. It will even be difficult for the U.S. to argue that Mobutu at least shares American respect for private property since his wholesale expropriations of farms and small businesses without compensation ironically goes well beyond anything that has occurred in Marxist Angola—whose constitution allows protection for portions of the private sector.

►Not even a reliable U.S. ally.

It will also not be easy for the Carter administration to justify further aid on the grounds of Mobutu's political reliability. He has been a good American ally only when it suits his purposes.

It did not suit his purposes in early 1975 when Mobutu surprised many by leading the Organization of African Unity (OAU) attack against Henry Kissinger and his newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State Nathaniel Davis. Nor did it suit his purpose in June 1975 when he expelled the U.S. ambassador, accusing him of intervening in Zaire's internal affairs. Some Zaire officers were even arrested as part of an alleged American plot. In addition, since 1973 Mobutu has developed close relations with China which, predictably, has supported him verbally (and perhaps materially) during the present crisis.

Given Mobutu's close ties with the U.S. and China, many were shocked this past December to learn that a Zairean delegation spent ten days in Moscow discussing a variety of matters with Soviet ministers

and technicians. The delegation signed an accord with the Soviets that established the principles for future economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. Commercial accords were also signed as well as an agreement on maritime navigation.

To justify aid to Mobutu, the administration may be seeking to establish a principle based on the fact that the invasion allegedly originated outside of the country. State department spokesmen have pointed to Angola's culpability for logistical support and possible training of the Katangese. But this would be a dangerous principle for the U.S. to adopt in Africa, where today 19 nations offer sanctuary to political refugees from neighboring countries. Most of these refugees entertain hopes of returning home and many are preparing to do this militarily.

Nor will it be easy to rationalize further U.S. aid based on U.S. opposition to the ideology or political orientations of the invading Katangese. They have embraced such a wide variety of political causes during the past decade and a half in order to survive that nobody can confidently predict what beliefs, if any, they may hold today or will hold tomorrow. If the superpowers have learned anything during the past two decades about Africa it should be that it is impossible to deduce the political ideology of any country or exile movement by the national origin of the military equipment and weapons they may employ at a given time. The Katangese epitomize this lesson better than anybody.

If President Carter truly seeks to establish a new American approach to foreign policy he will have to demonstrate in Zaire that he is prepared to question past policies and assumptions. Carter's initial responses to Mobutu's requests for aid are not encouraging.

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Murals Over America

"A wall belongs to everybody~ it can't be traded on the art market... it's nobody's property and it's everybody's property, the way art should be."

Tania, City Walls muralist



William Walker's "History of the Packinghouse Worker" on the South Side of Chicago.

A Basic Book

Art for the Walls

"I do not paint (my still lifes) for the pride of the Emperor of Germany or the vanity of the oil merchants of Chicago. I may get 10,000 francs for one of these dirty things, but I'd rather have the wall of a church, a hospital, or a municipal building."

Paul Cézanne

TOWARD A PEOPLE'S ART: The Contemporary Mural Movement

by Eva Cockcroft, John Weber and James Cockcroft
E.P. Dutton, N.Y., 1977, \$7.95 in paper

As a political muralist, isolated in Montana, I am so stimulated by the realization—gained from this book—that my ideas and my work since 1968 have been part of a national movement, that it is difficult for me to review *Toward a People's Art* objectively. But I will touch upon some of its important and least debatable historical implications.

1. It describes the first major mural movement in the U.S. with social content since the 1930s.

2. Unlike the movement of the '30s, the major source of inspiration and contribution is multi-racial, an expression of black, chicano, and other ethnic groups, as well as whites.

3. It seems to have derived a substantial part of its patronage and support directly from local communities, which distinguishes it from the Mexican revolutionary mural movement, WPA murals in the U.S., and contemporary government-controlled art in communist countries.

4. It involves the active and sometimes equal participation of non-professional—sometimes non-trained—artists, working with the professionals—a significant experiment in democracy in the arts.

5. Many of the pictures reproduced in the book integrate abstract and realistic elements. This is unusual in a social art movement and deserves some discussion.

If there has been genuine popular support of these nonobjective approaches, this becomes an argument against the traditional left opinion that realism is the appropriate form for social communication in the arts. This support reinvigorates the position of revolutionary abstract artists of the Russian Revolution who argue that abstract forms can be used for the development of new social perceptions—a position that was suppressed by the mechanistic "socialist realism" of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

There are problems with a political art form as flexible as the contemporary mural movement. Too much variety of style can be as confusing as formalism. But for socialists a choice must be made between a regimented society (with predictably regimented art forms) and a democratic one that permits the openness, spontaneity, and unpredictability of non-regimented art. This demonstrates that there is a free art form, collective and democratic.

I have a few reservations about the book. It could give non-artists the impression of being too much a manual for mural painters. The theoretical sections might have been more fully developed, especially in view of the book's length. I have doubts about public acceptance and comprehension of all the murals.

That being said, *Toward a People's Art* makes an important and impressive statement. It battles the isolation suffered by mural painters who live outside large urban centers. It gives practical suggestions about collective-political mural painting of the future. It exposes to a national public some of the vital and lovely murals being produced in the country today. And it effectively opposes the forces and the despair that would deprive people of their right to call culture their own.

—Jim Todd

Jim Todd teaches the social history of art at the University of Montana.

In August 1967 a young black mural worker climbed a ladder to get above a large and angry crowd of blacks on Chicago's South Side.

The ladder was held by veteran muralist Bill Walker against a wall he and other black artists had been decorating with portraits of black heroes and statements about black people's lives and aspirations. The young muralist wrote the words "Wall of Respect" high above the heads of the crowd.

The crowd did not riot and the police did not fire. The "Wall of Respect" is considered by many to be the pioneer work of the modern mural movement, and Bill Walker is credited with being its mentor. Because of its unique goals and processes, this movement has gone some distance toward redefining the whole notion of art: what it is for; who it is for; and how it should be done.

In the ten intervening years, the idea of painting outdoor murals with strong political and/or ethnic statements has struck a resonating chord in many different communities. There are chicano murals, black murals, Puerto Rican murals, Asian murals, women's murals, underground comic-strip style murals, abstract murals (the latter usually of a more commercial nature, less a community statement). The Wall of Respect has fallen to the bulldozers of urban renewal, but still standing are Walls of Understanding, Meditation, Unity, Truth, Choice, Dignity, Respect for Women, Influences as Seen through the Eyes of Children. There is a mural called Bored of Education; an anti-pollution mural called Which River in upstate New York; and one in Los Angeles called The Wall that Cracked Open.

There is a group in the Southwest called Artes Guadalupeños de Aztlan. Many muralists have drawn on the Mexican tradition, but this group's work (which can be seen in Santa Fe, Denver and Phoenix) is an extension of that tradition, drawing on the electrically vibrant Mexican and Aztec styles of design.

Then there is Eva Cockcroft in New Jersey. She lived in Chile during Allende's regime and brought back the influence of Chilean muralists whose style is strong

and simple and allows almost anyone to paint in the bright colors once the outlines are drawn.

In New York City, Susan Shapiro-Kiok and others in the Cityarts Workshop on the Lower East Side worked with a gang of boys who were into drugs and gang fights. The mural leaders let the boys take pictures of themselves acting out aspects of their lives, then projected the huge, lifelike images on a wall. The final product is called the Anti-Drug Abuse mural.

The approach to mural making runs the gamut from the highly professional or subsidized murals, to murals done by a single artist (e.g., Bill Walker's history of the Packinghouse Worker); to the collective approach of a group of artists working with groups of local youth. Most of the good murals evolve out of the community in which they are located, on themes either chosen or approved by the local residents.

Financing is becoming a serious problem for muralists. For a short, sweet while there were federal funds for CETA or various agencies within the National Endowment for the Arts. As John Weber (accompanying review) said recently, "The money was given when things were hot, taken away when things cooled down. Now it is very tough going for all mural groups."

The future of the movement cannot be predicted. It depends partly on the political climate of the immediate future. Recent murals have been quieter, subtler, more symbolic, more concerned with permanence. (For example, one recent Chicago mural is partially cast in concrete.)

But whatever direction the movement may follow, it has surely provided one of the most important legacies of the political activism of the last decade. Murals from the '60s and early '70s are still here, sprouting up like fistfuls of wildflowers in a cracked, concrete jungle. For all their deliberate ethnicity, they are an expression of a truly American exuberance, a hopeful exercise of the free expression that is occasionally possible here.

—Jane Melnick



Teenagers who live near "Razem" in northwest Chicago stand in front of a section.

Photo by Jane Melnick

Chicago Murals

Off Belmont Avenue on the northwest side of Chicago, the Polish mural, "Razem" stands along the edge of a McDonald's parking lot—a wonderful visual shock. "Razem" means together in Polish. The rich blues and greens, the intricately designed imagery seem downright unAmerican.

We asked some teenage passersby what the mural meant. "It's the Polish people," one said. Did they like it? They looked down and around and finally said, "Yeah." Did they know what it stood for with its symbols, like the huge man in white peasant dress, reaching across it? Not exactly; just "the Polish people." They were definitely glad it was there. One boy said if he caught anybody defacing it, he'd fight them.

"Social protest imagery" in murals has to work in its community. Otherwise it's a target for one of the few cultural expressions widely available to the American people—defacement and graffiti. Mural artists must be expert at their craft (and art critics are finally admitting that they rank with the best), but they must also be organizers and diplomats.

The story of "Razem's" creation is an excellent case in point when you know the obstacles the artists faced. Project director Caryl Yasko, of the Chicago Mural Group, says of the Polish community here (the largest concentration of Poles anywhere outside of Warsaw) that they are not united and are generally very conservative. "In order to assimilate they have often disavowed their background. People hide their accordions in their closets and never play them." Also, severe generation gaps divide the immigrant from the first native generation, and both from the younger people.

Yasko went into the Polish community with Sauti Isrowothakul, a Thai artist who had worked on other murals. They wandered into the Polish Museum and got talking with a youth group, formed to rediscover their Polish identity, break down prejudices against Poles, and find different directions from those who, as Yasko says, "have been conditioned into super-patriots."

The artists explained that they were doing a mural and asked the group to tell them about Polish life in America and Polish traditions. The talk flowed a while, and one of the youth group's organizers, Bob Radycki, offered to contact some of the local organizations. Soon they had organized a meeting with several of them.

This was one of the points at which the participation of the youth group (many of whom committed full time to work on the mural) was crucial to success. "They knew how to talk Polish, and how to talk to the different groups." And they were able to prove to the community that those responsible for the mural were "Polish" enough to carry out such a project.

The artists originally wanted to depict the immigrant experience directly, but the community wanted to proclaim in their mural that they were not the ignorant clods of Polish jokes, but came from a world of science and culture. Debates continued until some consensus (as well as some financial support) emerged.

They chose a folk hero, Janotchek, a Polish Robin Hood, for the central figure. He is shown reaching from the old world to the new, offering a young sapling to be planted, integrated into a design that looks like an old-world paper-cut.

Some outsiders felt the final concept was not radical enough, but the muralists stuck to their conviction that it was vital to paint what the local people wanted. When the mural was finally finished there was a festive dedication including an enormous banquet that Yasko recalls as one of the fanciest she has ever seen. It was the Polish community's way of saying thank you.

The same sense of neighborhood ownership can be detected around each of Chicago's many good murals. One teenage boy proudly told us how he chased and tackled a drunken landlord who had thrown a bucket of gray paint at "Tilt," a mural only recently completed. Directed by Chicago Mural Group leader John Weber, "Tilt" is more overtly political than "Razem." It shows people uniting

against a rich man who is careening recklessly across the community in a big car, oblivious to the unemployment lines his priorities have helped to cause. Often, says Weber, the people who are "hungriest" both literally and figuratively, relate best to such murals.

A woman on her way to the laundromat told us that the mural has given hope to many unemployed in the community because it says that "it isn't their fault."

Similar relationships exist in the chicano community around the work of MARCH (Movimiento Artístico Chicano), which includes the work of talented young artists Salvador Vega and Aurelio Diaz. Black people on the South Side are proud to pose in front of William Walker's "Meat-packer's Union History." Junkies and gangs in Uptown make sure that no one touches the beautiful mural of Asian/Latino history done by Oscar Martinez and Jim Yanagisawa (regular editorial cartoonist for *IN THESE TIMES*.)

No precise scales exist to measure the weight of works of art and their effect on people. But murals profoundly affect many people's lives. They have brought people together where it was not thought possible, as for example in the Anglo-Latino mural on the North Side, called "People of Lakeview, Unite!"

For the left, John Weber says, the murals "have not always been explicit enough. The left sometimes hasn't been able to grasp the connection between the democratic expression the murals represent and revolution—how all reform struggles that have a mass character and go beyond the limitations of present society imply fundamental demands that can't be met under capitalism." One of the demands murals make is "that the masses have a right to culture; they are the sources and the legitimate patrons of culture. How can anyone deny that?"

Another thing the murals do, first by the process of their creation and then by their continued colorful presence imposed on the city's gray, is to state that "We can change things; we *can* alter the environment."

—Jane Melnick



San Fran

The Chevy Monza ad at Haight and Masonic Streets in San Francisco has to compete these days with a billboard-size mural standing right next to it. The brightly-colored "200 Years of Resistance" (done by the Haight-Ashbury Muralists) shows people of all races pushing back a wall whose surface is covered with the logos of corporations and other symbols of oppression.

Monza, prepare to meet your maker!

Murals are not new to San Francisco. The WPA arts program sponsored dozens, including the 24 works done for Coit Tower. The final—some say finest—work of that period is the "History of San Francisco," by Anton Refregier, in the Rincon Annex Post Office, an epic 29-panel work, completed in 1948 amid intense controversy.

The recent upsurge in public art dates from the fall of 1971 when Rene Yanez, director of a cooperative community gallery, involved underground cartoonists Robert Crumb and Spain (Manuel Rodriguez) and a number of their associates in two mural projects: one at the "Mission Rebels" headquarters and the other at a neighborhood Youth Corps center.

Inspired by these examples, Michael Rios, a local artist and musician did a cartoon-like work on the side wall of a building at 23 and Folsom. Rios' mural is peopled with animals engaging in fam-

calligraphy/tom greensfelder

The Making of a Mural

Photos by Craig Kalb

"Para el Mercado," mural by Mujeres Muralistas.



Photo by David Minehart

San Francisco Murals

human activities. "I used dogs, moles, rat people," he explains, "because city life is a rat race, and it's a dog's for a lot of people."

In 1972 the Haight-Ashbury had surd the influx of hard drugs and crime shattered the community in the '60s, attempts to rebuild were beginning. Haight-Ashbury Muralists (initially a person collective) contributed an anti-war mural, completed on Oct. 14, for a peace march of 60,000 down Haight Street.

This is the most politically oriented group in the city, and they have done six more works with titles like "Un-," "Sistersongs of Liberation" and "Our History Is No Mystery." The latter, their biggest to date—is over 300 feet long, and is a working people's history of the Bay Area. Last May, after ten months of hard work, and only a week to completion, "Our History Is No Mystery" was defaced by buckets of gray paint.

"When we saw the damage, we were crushed," says painter Jane Norling. "We were all crying, standing there and wondering if we'd ever get it done." But it came from a concerned house-painter who suggested an effective solvent and a neighborhood residents who helped redo it. A few days later the astonished muralists received a letter of apology from the vandal, enclosing a check for \$74,

which he hoped would ease the expense and anguish he had caused.

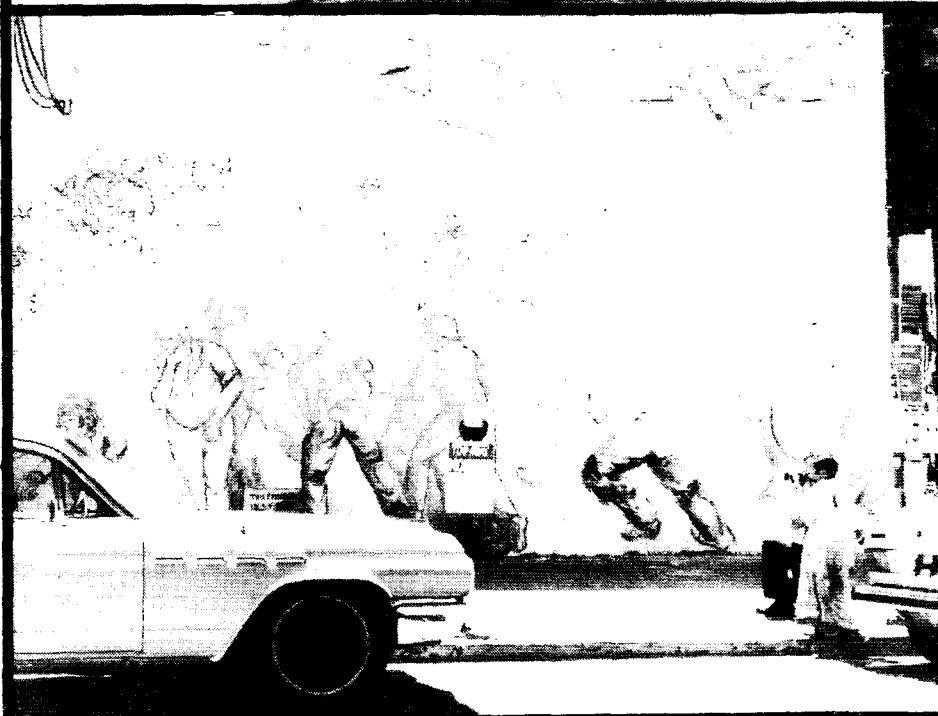
Last summer many of the local muralists, including Rios, the Mujeres Muralistas (a group of latina women whose art celebrates the cultural heritage of that community), and the Haight-Ashbury group participated in a mural show at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Eight works were commissioned for the show, which was titled "People's Murals: Some events in American History." They were on display for a month and then went out to be installed in permanent locations around the city.

The movement is constantly changing. For example, Rios and Yanez are trying to develop some support for a program of taking over commercial billboards as sites for community art display. The Mujeres Muralistas have broken up: one of them, Patricia Rodriguez, is teaching mural art at University of California (Berkeley) and working with the Vacaville Prison Project on a painting done with the inmates; Irene Perez is sharing her skills with farmworkers at the University Without Walls, near Sacramento.

"I think that we have done our work," says Rodriguez. "I hope that other latino women will get encouraged by what we did and pick up on our work."

—Jay Kinney

Jay Kinney is a San Francisco artist and writer who draws regularly for *In These Times*.



A History of Telegraph Avenue (Berkeley, Calif.)

"We had only conditional approval to paint on the wall we had chosen. If some possible future tenant wished to paint it out, the owner would not protect it. Good enough. The community would protect it."

We had no money. I was living on unemployment insurance. We went up and down the street and dunned merchants for enough seed money to get some paint and rent the scaffolding.

We sandblasted off archeological layers of paint and began to work....

And it came together. The idea was right. Dozens of people came to help. People who knew how to paint and some who didn't. Hundreds of passersby encouraged us. We put a can on the street with a sign: "This project is supported solely by your contributions." We raised around \$800....

No one had an individual section... sometimes five or six people would work on a figure. The figure would get better, then worse, then better again, before it reached its final stage. By the end of our

project we felt so good about our collective effort that we gave ourselves a name: "People's Wall Muralists." That's how we signed and copyrighted the mural.

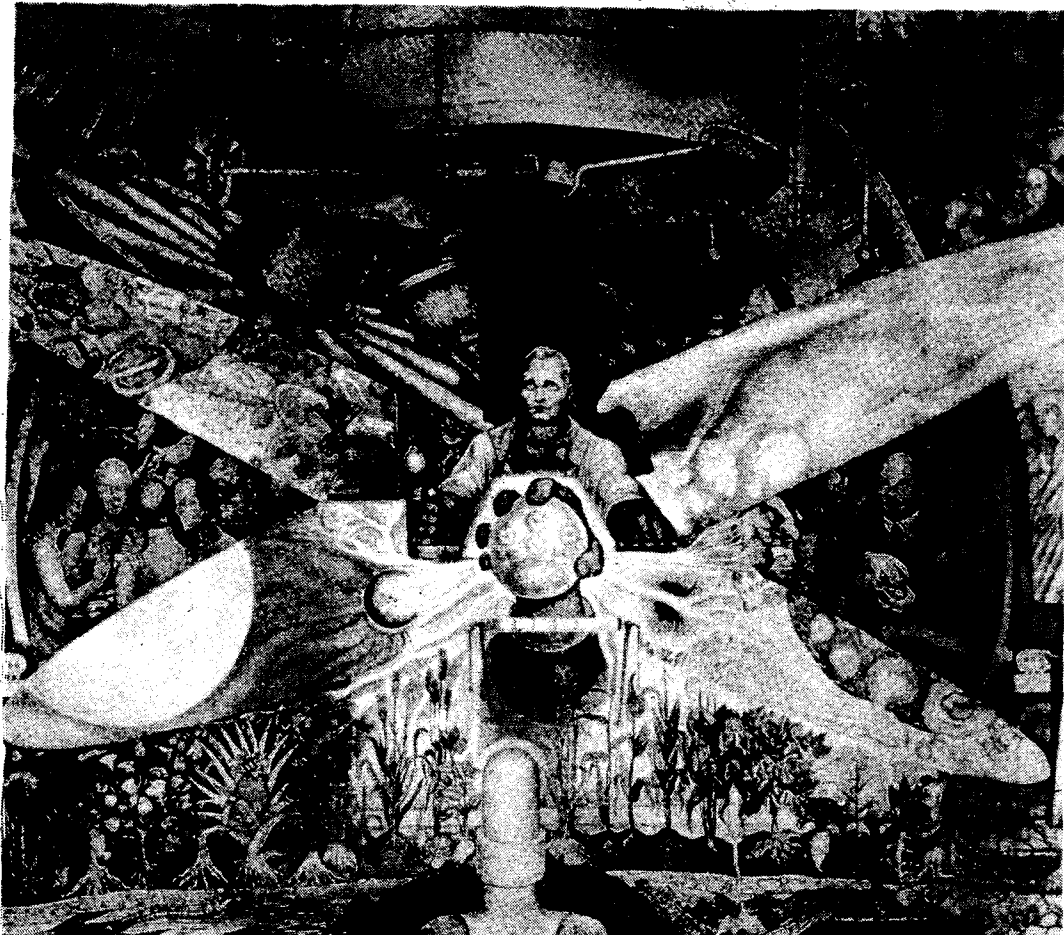
I felt good... I had initiated and guided to a successful conclusion a perfect people's project, funded by the people, about the people... executed by the people and politically right on. Not an exercise in nostalgia, but a demand that an important piece of history be remembered. A promise to return.

...At the dedication, an old style street party with rock music, jazz and an open mike... people who had hung out on the street with us told us they loved us, hugged us, begged us not to leave...

It takes more than one project to forge a community and to bridge the difference of class and life style that have come to divide us. Hopefully murals and community art can help to do that....

Excerpted from *Osha Neumann's A Personal History of a Mural Project*

Osha Neumann is an artist living in Berkeley, Calif.



In 1932, Nelson Rockefeller commissioned Diego Rivera to paint a 17×63-foot mural for the main building of the new Rockefeller Center. When he discovered a portrait of Lenin in a key sector of the fresco, he asked Rivera "to substitute the face of some unknown man where Lenin's face now appears."

Rivera refused. Rockefeller had the mural destroyed. The incident inspired E.B. White's poem which appears below. In 1934, incidentally, Rivera repainted "Man at the Crossroads" for the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City.

I Paint What I See

"What do you paint, when you paint a wall?"
Said John D.'s grandson Nelson.
"Do you paint just anything there at all?"
"Will there be any doves, or a tree in fall?"
"Or a hunting scene, like an English hall?"

"I paint what I see," said Rivera.

"What are the colors you use when you paint?"
Said John D.'s grandson Nelson.
"Do you use any red in the beard of a saint?"
"If you do, is it terribly red, or faint?"
"Do you use any blue? Is it Prussian?"

"I paint what I paint," said Rivera.

"Whose is that head that I see on my wall?"
Said John D.'s grandson Nelson.
"Is it anyone's head whom we know, at all?"
"A Rensselaer, or a Saltonstall?"
"Is it Franklin D.? Is it Mordaunt Hall?"
"Or is it the head of a Russian?"

"I paint what I think," said Rivera.

"I paint what I paint, I paint what I see,
"I paint what I think," said Rivera,
"And the thing that is dearest in life to me
"In a bourgeois hall is Integrity;

"However . . .
"I'll take out a couple of people drinkin'
"And put in a picture of Abraham Lincoln,
"I could even give you McCormick's reaper
"And still not make my art much cheaper.
"But the head of Lenin has got to stay
"Or my friends will give me the bird today
"The bird, the bird, forever."

"It's not good taste in a man like me,"
Said John D.'s grandson Nelson,
"To question an artist's integrity
"Or mention a practical thing like a fee,
"But I know what I like to a large degree
"Though art I hate to hamper;
"For twenty-one thousand conservative bucks
"You painted a radical. I say shucks,
"I never could rent the offices—
"The capitalistic offices.
"For this, as you know, is a public hall
"And people want doves, or a tree in fall,
"And though your art I dislike to hamper,
"I owe a little to God and Gramper,
"And after all,
"It's my wall . . ."

"We'll see if it is," said Rivera.

—E. B. White



"Imperialism" by Diego Rivera, 1933.

The Mexican Influence

Diego Rivera's murals in the National Preparatory School in Mexico City, finished in 1922, constitute the opening gun of the Mexican mural movement. Rivera's vast body of work (235 frescoes completed between 1922 and 1930) gave concrete form to the theories of the movement and established him as not only its most famous and prolific painter, but also as the one who first recognized the implications of the Revolution for Mexican painting.

Rivera's cultural background permitted him to synthesize Cezanne, cubism and pre-Columbian art. Paying tribute to him in 1945, David Siqueiros said, "Diego Rivera made Mexican mural painting possible . . . and everything of value in the Mexican art movement today is founded historically on this basis."

Siqueiros and Jose Orozco (whose influences are greater on the current U.S. street-murals) joined the movement in 1922 and 1923 respectively. Under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education, the *tres grandes* were joined by other painters dedicated to didactic public art that undertook to educate the Mexican people about the 1910 Revolution: the abuses that brought it about, the reforms it promised, and (in some instances) the possibility of a socialist future.

The temporary alliance between artists and the government precluded criticism of nascent Mexican capitalism, but did not prevent Rivera and Siqueiros (then members of the Communist party) from strong criticism of American and world capitalism. Perhaps the most cogent expressions of this trend are Rivera's "Man at the Crossroads" (see illustration and poem) and Siqueiros' "Tropical America" (painted in a Los Angeles Mexican section in 1932, destroyed by fire in 1934).

Political statements that were permissible (in work commissioned by the state) in the '20s (e.g., Rivera's murals in the chapel at Chapingo with

their hammers and sickles and red stars or his portrait of Karl Marx holding the Communist Manifesto in the National Palace) came increasingly under the censorship as the Calles political machine established ties with American interests, and all the muralists except Rivera were eventually dismissed from their posts.

The *tres grandes* found their way to the U.S. (Orozco in 1927, Rivera in 1930 and Siqueiros in 1932), where they had a major impact on American artists. The Depression was raising a new class consciousness in the U.S. and painter George Biddle had persuaded F.D.R. to establish art programs on the Mexican model under the W.P.A., to provide financial support for recognized artists and to make art available to millions of Americans.

Rivera and Orozco were commissioned (by private or institutional patrons) to paint murals from California to New York. W.P.A. artists learned their craft as assistants and observers of the Mexicans. Among those who benefited from this contact were Ben Shahn, Rico LeBrun, Charles Alston, Charles White, Lucienne Bloch and Marion Greenwood.

There was another flourishing of state-sponsored art in Mexico under Cardenas, but it was the last. The more militant and radical expressions of class struggle came under attack in Mexico as in the U.S. Siqueiros' defiance of such censorship was one of the contributing causes of his imprisonment from 1960 to 1964.

As a representative of the theories and practice of the great Mexican mural renaissance, Siqueiros continued to influence new generations of painters right up to the time of his death in 1974. His heirs are the street muralists who are at this moment covering U.S. walls with expressions of community and world concerns.

—Shifra Goldman

Shifra Goldman is a west coast art historian specializing in modern Mexican art.

Frances Moore Lappé/Joe Collins

American aid goes to agribusiness, not hungry

The United States Agency for International Development (AID) claims to be fulfilling its congressional mandate to concentrate on helping the world's poor majority. But a recent (Oct. 27, 1976) internal memorandum leaked to us makes clear where the Agency's sights are set. The memorandum instructs all AID's field program directors to "immediately pay greater attention to agribusiness aspects of our food and nutrition programs." According to the memorandum, AID will "place priority emphasis on this sector."

It is not surprising then that last year AID granted its third low-interest loan to the Latin American Agribusiness Corporation (LAAD). In the name of development American taxpayers have now loaned a total of \$17 million to LAAD, a consortium of 15 giant U.S.-based corporations, including Borden, Cargill, Deere, Caterpillar and Ralston Purina. One of LAAD's members, the ADELA Co., is itself made up of 240 major companies such as Dow Chemical and Standard Fruit. These "needy" giants received the long-term AID loans at 3 to 4 percent.

LAAD investments, made possible by the taxpayers' unwitting largesse, have largely gone in to luxury export operations such as beef, fresh and frozen vegetables, cut flowers and wood products from Central America and Colombia. With its latest AID loan, LAAD is moving into Caribbean countries such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Founded in 1970 by the Bank of America (the bank that controls about one-half of California agriculture), LAAD is incorporated in Panama to avoid paying U.S. taxes. Although it pays no taxes here, LAAD is only too happy to have American taxpayers help it expand into Latin America. Land preparation and labor costs there—as little as 10 percent of those in the U.S.—make for pleasing profits. In 1975, LAAD's net profit was over \$500,000—not bad considering the

total capital the corporate shareholders invested was \$2 million.

AID's enthusiasm for LAAD as a model for helping agribusiness penetrate into underdeveloped countries was apparently not dampened by a 1974 review of LAAD's impact by a private consulting firm, hired by AID itself. Although not unsympathetic to LAAD's purposes, the firm concluded that its presence has not provided additional food for those who need it "because the bulk of the product lines handled are either destined for upper-middle, upper class consumption, or for export." Nor, according to the evaluation, have small farmers and new, small businessmen been helped: "LAAD's efforts have not, for the most part, been diluted by social motives to 'reach the small man.'" Instead, according to the report, LAAD has been "supporting businessmen whose success is predictable." In other words, one safe way not to fail in helping someone is to pick someone who doesn't need help.

The consultant's report criticizes LAAD for making investment decisions in order to ally itself with "politically well-established groups and families" instead of providing financing to key agribusiness ventures that "could not obtain alternative financing from other sources."

Such a critique might well be applicable in Nicaragua. Almost a quarter of LAAD's operations are in Nicaragua. Besides interests in export-oriented cattle ranches, ice production (now there's a pressing food need!) and American-style supermarkets, LAAD lent over \$300,000, mostly from our AID funds, to Industrias Amolonca. Industrias Amolonca now uses prime agricultural land to produce black-eyed peas for stews and soups and freezing-vegetables like okra for its major contractors, Safeway Stores and Southland (Seven-Eleven).

Amolonca employs a grand total of 26 people, ten of whom are salaried managers and administrators. The capital in-

vested per employee is a phenomenal \$47,817. All this in a country where rural unemployment runs between 20 and 32 percent and over three-quarters of the rural people earn less than \$120 a year. LAAD probably considers the Amolonca project not only a business success, but also a form of political insurance; the Nicaraguan partners are related to the dictator, President Anastasio Somoza, a West Point graduate whose father ruled Nicaragua for almost two decades in close collaboration with American policy makers.

A favored area of investment for LAAD is flower-growing—in Colombia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama and soon, we understand, in Haiti. To protect these investments, LAAD set up a joint venture with a Costa Rican national, Flores International Corporation in 1972. This provides marketing services for cut flower growers exporting to the U.S. and Europe.

Flores International focuses on marketing directly to mass retailers such as supermarket chains, Sears, Pillsbury (Blackman's European Flower Markets) and United Brand (Chiquita carnations). This expanded corporate control bypasses wholesalers who traditionally have kept small retail flower shops alive through flowers on credit. Neighborhood florist shops are likely to go the way of hundreds of thousands of other mom and pop stores—out of business.

Given the increasing impoverishment of the majority of people in the countries where LAAD invests, it is hardly surprising that LAAD's major problem is selling what its associated firms produce. LAAD therefore has established the LAAD Marketing Co. to help food-processing companies such as Industrias Amolonca, find buyers in the U.S. The company's first step was to appoint a representative in Chile to help potential exporters find overseas markets. And so, while a member of the UN Protein Advisory

Group tells us that the typical Chilean is more undernourished than the typical Bangladeshi, American tax dollars, through AID, go to underwrite a company that seeks to facilitate the removal of food from Chile.

Land and other agricultural resources put at the disposal of LAAD's 66 projects, and aided with American tax dollars, thus do not go to help the hungry but to supply a Global Supermarket. In the Global Supermarket the poorest in Nicaragua, Colombia and Chile must reach for food on the same shelf as hundreds of millions of persons around the world. Every item has a price and that price is determined by what the better-off customers are willing to bid. Even Fido and Felix in countries like the United States can outbid most of the world's hungry people.

The negative impact of agribusiness operations like those LAAD supports is not merely in the amount of agricultural land diverted into production for the Global Supermarket. Even more critical is that, in providing capital and marketing assistance to foreign-oriented agribusiness, LAAD helps direct a country's natural and scarce technical and financial resources toward a few private projects to the active neglect of the majority of the population. The growth of lucrative agribusiness operations serves further to entrench entrepreneurial elites who will fight the slightest reform that threatens future private profit-making opportunities for them.

Working to expose and halt U.S. government support of such operations as LAAD should be high on the agenda of those who ask what they can do about world hunger.

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins are co-directors of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Their book, written with Cary Fowler, *First Food: Beyond the myth of scarcity*, will be published in March. Lappé is author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Their column appears regularly, syndicated in *These Times*.

ISRAEL

No final solution without self-determination

I read with interest Simon Rosenblum's "An Open Letter to the PLO" (*ITT*, March 9). He says that "history can only be transcended, not reversed. Israel was created through a process of colonization, but it is now a legitimate nation." He further states Palestinians are "faced with an opportunity to establish [their] own state and give up the futile fight against impossible odds." This presumably is his rationale for PLO recognition of Israel.

By analogy, Rosenblum might have suggested that the Vietnamese people should have recognized the portion of their country under American control and given up their struggle due to the "impossible odds"? What would have been the chances for long-term peace in Vietnam if such had occurred? Should the people of South Africa or Rhodesia recognize the legitimacy of the white governments that exist in those countries? The rationale seems faulty at best.

Rosenblum seems to be concerned about the elusive peace in the Middle East and lays out what he considers to be a blueprint for a final solution. This solution would entail, at its crux, a West Bank/Gaza state for the Palestinians. But would his scenario for peace produce just that?

He states that "if peace has any chance in the Middle East, the Israeli people must be granted the right of self-determination." I am not disputing this point. But it is implicit in the right of self-determination that this will, not ne-

gate the rights of another people. A Zionist Israel would negate these rights. Each party must have the right of self-determination. To justify the continued existence of a Zionist Israel as Israeli self-determination is a misapplication of the concept.

The right of self-determination for all people is extremely important. In

DIALOG

calling for a people's self-determination, the concept must not be distorted by suggesting separation or the oppression of another people. Since nationalist Zionism is in principle based on the oppression of Palestinian national rights, it can in no way be seen as a legitimate expression of the right of self-determination of the Jewish masses. It is not. Therefore, the eventual de-Zionization of Israel must precede the right of self-determination for both the Jewish masses as well as the Palestinians.

Rosenblum's final solution to the conflict is a West Bank-Gaza state for the Palestinians. But this "solution" begs more questions that it answers. First consider the economy of the proposed state. It would initially be greatly dependent on outside aid and assistance. Since the proposed state would come about within the context of an overall settlement, the aid

to the new state would come primarily from reactionary Arab governments as well as from the imperialist nations. This would certainly be a reactionary force within the new state, and would not likely be a sign for long-term peace.

Even more questionable in the context of this supposed final solution is the role of the Palestinian rejection forces: groups and individuals that are opposed to a West Bank-Gaza state. These forces have vowed to continue the "armed struggle" against the Zionist entity. The leadership of the new state might initially be able to prevent guerrilla activity; but how long would the controlling forces in the new state be able to stop it? With the creation of a West Bank-Gaza state, the Palestinian armed movement would have, for the first time, a "secure" base from which to operate. What guarantees exist to insure that armed struggle would actually cease?

The West Bank-Gaza state would satisfy the aspirations of only a minority of the Palestinians. Since the West Bank-Gaza areas constitute only 22 percent of the area of Palestine, many Palestinians would not permanently feel satisfied. Those who come from areas retained by Israel would certainly constitute a future force against what they consider an historic injustice—the partition of their homeland. Possibly some would choose the alternative of repatriation. But most that come from an area of Palestine outside of the new state probably would not.

And if they did, then certainly that would increase the chances for continued struggle within Israel by the Palestinians living there.

Considering all this, it is hard to see the rationale for believing that a West Bank-Gaza state could be the basis for a final solution. What is more likely, if such a state comes into being, is that it will provide the basis for a partial solution to an intricate and complex problem. Since this solution will be implemented with the cooperation and direction of world imperialism, the influence of imperialism in the Middle East will remain in effect and the right of self-determination of the Jewish and Palestinian masses will not be achieved.

Simon Rosenblum admonishes the PLO to work toward peace or else undergo the consequences—"Remember: the roots of war are already planted." Certainly the roots are nurtured by Arab and Israeli reaction.

Many progressives understand that the final solution to the Palestine problem must not only rectify the injustices done to the Palestinians but must also insure the security and rights of the Jewish masses. Such a solution can only come about through the combined struggle of both parties. Obviously the conditions are not favorable now for such a struggle. But a final solution will necessitate the defeat of imperialism in the area.

—Jim Harb
Knoxville, Tenn.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Social spending at no cost to taxpayers

Under President Nixon and then Ford military spending increased steadily while spending for health, housing, education and other social needs and services was cut back in order, so we were told, to "keep down the deficit." Early in President Carter's campaign, when he needed votes from working people, but did not yet have to deliver to our corporate rulers, he promised, if elected, to cut defense spending by \$10 billion, later lowered to \$5-7 billion, and to use the money saved for social programs.

The closer Carter came to being elected, however, the more vague he became about cutting the defense budget. After the election it became clear that his "reductions" in military spending would not be reductions at all, and that, at best, Carter would propose \$5-7 billion less in increases than the Ford budget called for.

The subservience of the Carter administration to the forces benefitting from high level military spending is only to be expected, as we have said before. Even though many administration leaders might want to increase spending on social programs, in order to consolidate support among working people and the poor, we can expect little or nothing in the way of a shift of priorities from the executive branch.

At the same time, as a result of the reassertion of a degree of congressional power during the last years of the Nixon administration, Congress has new budget procedures that make it possible to contest with the President over federal expenditures.

Congressional review of Carter's budget proposals is now taking place within the House budget committee, which will report its first budget resolution for fiscal year 1978 in early April—this week or next. At that time there will be a challenge to the administration's social priorities in the form of an amendment to the budget resolution, known as the Transfer Amendment, sponsored by Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.).

The Transfer Amendment, in its current form, would reduce military spending by

The lack of unity between those arguing for increased spending on social programs and those opposed to high-level military spending has made it difficult to mount an effective campaign to achieve either goal. The Transfer Amendment is designed to meet this problem.

\$13.6 billion and transfer these savings to various programs to "meet human needs." The programs to which the money would be allocated are ten in number and include anti-recession aid to state and local governments (\$2.5 billion), education (\$2 billion), international hunger and development assistance (\$2 billion), rural development, housing and health care (\$1.3 billion), child care, minority employment, and health insurance for the unemployed (\$1 billion each).

Reductions in military spending are proposed on the ground that "as much as \$24 billion in new budget authority can be cut out of former President Ford's budget proposal for FY'78 without damaging U.S. national security, producing savings of \$13.6 billion this year."

These savings should be made in line with the National Democratic Platform, the resolution states. That platform, it goes on to say, recognized that "the security of our nation depends first and foremost on the internal strength of American society."

Last year, a similar transfer amendment was introduced by Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.J.), a member of the House budget committee, and received 78 votes in the House. This year, Parren Mitchell, a two-term member of the budget committee and head of the Congressional Black Caucus will be the sponsor, both in committee and on the floor of the

House. Eight of the 25 committee members are likely supporters of the amendment. Most likely, the budget committee will include only a part of the Mitchell amendment when it reports the First Budget Resolution to the House this week or next. The part left out will then be taken to the floor as the Mitchell Transfer Amendment during the week of April 25-29.

The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, which has helped frame the Transfer Amendment and is organizing support for it, is an outgrowth of the Indochina Peace Campaign, and, more generally, the anti-war movement. The campaign, and the amendment itself, are attempts to link together struggles against militarism, nuclear armaments and aid to reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes with various domestic movements for social reform. Since the war in Vietnam ended and the visible anti-war movement melted away, the arms budget has been rising under pressure from military and corporate interests. The various peace and church groups that have continued to oppose military spending have been unable to mobilize significant popular support and have lost ground in Congress.

During the same period, even with continuing high unemployment, a series of urban crises and near crises, deteriorating health care, education and public trans-

portation systems, it has been difficult to get Congress to appropriate funds for social needs. This has been true, in part, because opponents of social spending have successfully utilized the widespread concern in the last few years about increasingly large federal deficits and their inflationary effect. Of course, as we have pointed out before, the major portion of the federal budget is devoted to armaments, the military and related matters. But the lack of unity between those arguing for increased spending on social programs and those opposed to high level military spending has made it difficult to mount an effective political campaign to achieve either goal. The Transfer Amendment is designed to meet this problem and to unite anti-militarists with the social reform forces.

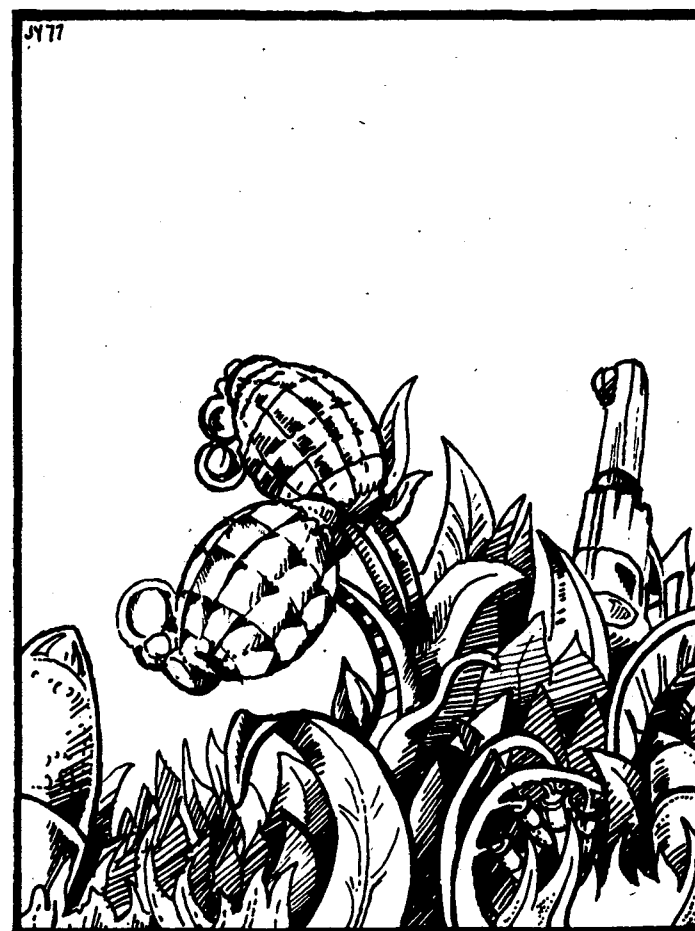
The \$13.6 billion in proposed cuts in military spending would eliminate 316,550 jobs, but the added social spending would create 1,441,000 new jobs, for a total gain in employment of 1,125,000 jobs. Similarly, the proposals for increased spending are designed to meet the needs of a wide range of people.

So far, however, little has been done to mobilize various groups that are potential supporters of the Transfer Amendment. There seems to be little or no chance of the amendment being adopted this year, but there is a good chance that it can win a substantially larger number of votes than it received last year. If the 78 votes of last year can be doubled this year, then the principle will be a large step on the way to being established and organizing activity for next year will be facilitated.

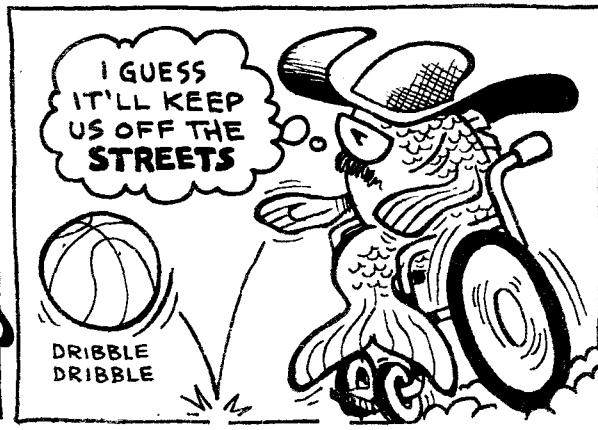
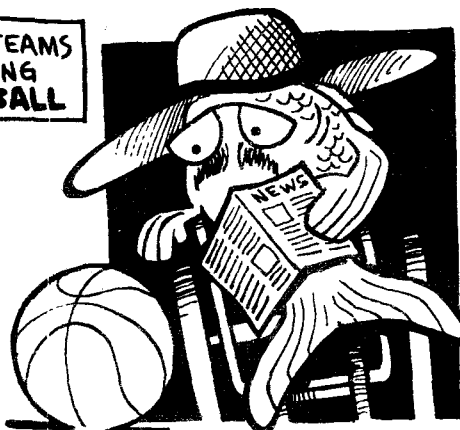
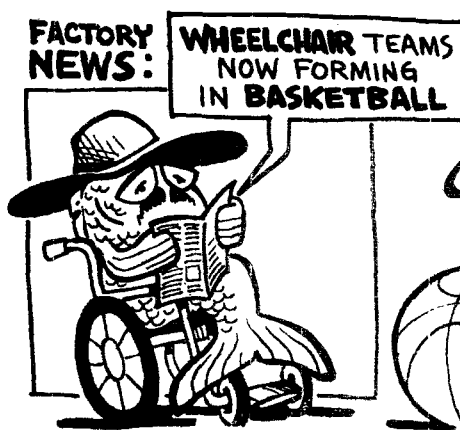
We therefore urge our readers to visit, call, or write their representatives to urge them to vote for transfer, and to ask the organizations in which they are active to endorse and make known support for the amendment. Time is short. The vote will take place during the last week of April.

For further information: Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Jim Yanagisawa



GUNS OR BUTTER



Letters

The meaning of Economic Democracy

Editor:

ITT March 9 accurately reported on the California Conference on Alternative Public Policy, organized last month by Tom Hayden and his Campaign for Economic Democracy. I was especially impressed by the author's recognition of the crucial nature of the "debate" on the meaning of economic democracy in which I and a minority of non-CED participants voted against Hayden's position.

The vagueness of "economic democracy" became evident when Hayden and his supporters defended it as demanding only "the end of control of our economy by giant monopoly corporations," rather than "the end of private corporate ownership." Hayden seems convinced—in spite of evidence to the contrary—that "small farmers" and "small businessmen" will rally to a movement that attacks only the largest corporations. He does not acknowledge the functional links between large corporations and entrepreneurs. The latter often provide the tasks "subcontracted" by the large corporations. Also, entrepreneurs represent a declining proportion of the capitalist class. Would it not be more productive to educate Americans to this increasingly evident fact than to shy away from a confrontation with the boogymen of "private property"?

How many concessions will our new coalition be asked to make by CED leadership in order to win the loyalties of small capitalists? Will the coalition be more than a new persona for reformist Democrats? CED has done precious little for the representatives of the left—the Socialist Workers Party and the Peace & Freedom party—who are already contesting elections in some of the state's largest cities.

I read each issue of *ITT* for the rare jewels that always surface. Your articles are timely and clearly written, yet too often I wonder whether the author's bias—not substantiated by the reported facts—is coloring conclusions. For instance, the series of articles on the Sadlowski campaign never dealt with the weaknesses inherent in the campaign's construction. That had to wait until Dan Marshall's critique—to late to help Sadlowski. Marshall is writing as an individual, but his identification as a staff member suggests a quavering quality in your presentation of topical affairs that is confused. (More should also be said about the absence of a socialist perspective on the arts and sports: criticism seems to fade into a murky aestheticism as one penetrates the remote last pages of *ITT*—but socialism and culture have only recently come together in the society at large after the mid-century dominance of economism. Perhaps we—through *ITT* will see a resurgence of the spirit of *The Masses* after all.)

All in all, you're coming along very nicely. A little more rigor in editing—without losing the accessibility and humor—will improve a staple for this member of the American left.

—Bob Jacobson
Los Angeles

How good is "that good"?

Editor:

The lionization of Richard Hongisto among some portions of the left ("San Francisco's Unorthodox Sheriff," *ITT*, March 9) is a bit much. True, he is unusually liberal for a law enforcement official. And he played an important role in fending off the eviction of residents of the International Hotel, one of San Francisco's biggest local political battles in a decade (*ITT*, Feb. 16). For that stance he may even be sent to jail for five days.

All well and good. But people should not ignore the fact that at 6 a.m. on Tuesday, Jan. 18, Hongisto was set to move in his deputies and carry out the eviction of the elderly Filipino and Chinese residents. Only the last-minute eviction stay granted by Superior Court Judge Ira Brown at 6 p.m. the night before prevented that action. And it was the 5,000 person demonstration on Sunday night that pressured the court into granting that stay. Hongisto was prepared to act as the agent for property interest for the simple reason that he wanted to keep his job; failure to carry out the court order might have led to removal from office.

The man may be good, but he's not that good.

—Chester Hartman
San Francisco

A substitute for oil as a source of heat

Editor:

T.D. Allman's series "Palestine: The Mideast's New Jews?" opened (*ITT*, March 16) with an article so laden with spurious facts, gross exaggerations and unfair comparisons that one wonders if the series should be allowed to run its full course or be aborted now—before Allman discredits *ITT*'s reputation further.

Allman claims that the Palestinians have been dispossessed by the Israelis. Yet the growth of Zionist settlement before independence led to increases, in absolute terms, in the native populations. Arabs from Syria, Egypt and elsewhere came to Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of Zionism's development of the country. Cities, such as Tel Aviv, were built; swamps were drained; irrigation systems were constructed; forests were planted. In the course of the "dispossession" of the Palestinian Arabs, their standard of living rose, rate of literacy increased, employment situations improved, health conditions grew better, and their actual populations increased. Some dispossession.

The War of Independence and the wars that followed created hundreds of thousands of refugees in the Middle East. Allman neglects to mention that some 600,000 Arab Jews were made refugees during these years, turned away from their ancestral homelands in Tunisia, Yemen, Morocco and elsewhere. The wars created the refugees and the refugee problem, not vice versa. Peace is the solution to the refugee problem, and not vice versa.

Today, the Arab refugees find not sanctuary, but misery in the homelands of their brothers. The Arab governments were, until very recently, notoriously lax in their contribution to UNRWA. Furthermore, the sanctuaries have

become slaughterhouses for refugees in Jordan and Lebanon. Hussein and the Lebanese Phalangists are responsible for more deaths, more destruction of homes, more suffering on the part of the refugees than Israel.

Allman evokes the sympathetic picture of young Palestinians listing as homes "cities they have never seen," such as Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa. As if Israel had sealed the border and not allowed hundreds of thousands of Arabs to enter the country through an "open bridges" policy. As if Sephardic Jews are permitted to "see" Tunis, Cairo, Algiers—the homes of their parents and ancestors.

As socialists, we should sympathize with the plight of all refugees. But sympathy should not blind us to the obvious: the Palestinians are not the "new Jews" of the Middle East, certainly not when the "old Jews"—the victims of the Nazi holocaust, the victims of the pogroms and oppressions of the Arab world, and the native-born Israelis, victims of siege, hatred, isolation—are still defamed and denounced, even in the pages of a socialist newspaper which ought to know better.

Fraternal regards.

—Eric Lee
Flushing, N.Y.

Palestinians do exist

Editor:

Allman's article "Jerusalem, Palestine; Acre, Palestine" (*ITT*, March 16) touched me in a special way: I am a Palestinian who wrote "Jerusalem, Palestine," under her graduation photograph (American University of Beirut, 1968)! Allman's article shows rare insight into what Palestinians are like, what they feel, and how they have reacted to the world's neglect.

A careful study of the *New York Times* and other major publications would reveal that the word "Palestinian" dropped from usage shortly after 1948, surfaced (on and off) when Palestinian hijackers were most active, and then disappeared again and is still out of sight because journalists insist on pretending it's an "Arab/Israeli" rather than a "Palestinian/Israeli" conflict.

Eventually, the word "Palestinian" will come back into fashion. President Carter has started using it, and the press will hopefully catch on to what Allman knew all along: that Palestinians do exist, and that referring to them as Arabs will not make them disappear. Their sense of nationhood is strong enough to withstand that and much more.

—Orayb Najjar
Bloomington, Ind.

Appalling

Editor:

Your last issue (*ITT*, March 16), really made me wish I had a subscription to *ITT*, because if I did, I could cancel it immediately!

Your use of a publicity photo of Faye Dunaway on your cover is a clear and appalling example of the sexual exploitation of women to promote sales. Given the steady decline in the political appeal of your newspaper, it is understandable that you are concerned with increasing your circulation; however, sexism is something we are fighting against—it is

a tool of the ruling class, not a method to sell more papers.

If you aren't aware of the sexism involved in using photographs of this nature then your feminist political development is severely retarded.

If you are aware, then it is not only an example of sexism but of the worst kind of opportunism as well.

—Jack O'Keefe Jr.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Delightful

Editor:

IN THESE TIMES is full of surprises and none more delightful than your Faye Dunaway cover. I have come to expect editorials devoid of left jargon and labor coverage that challenges me to think about the labor movement rather than spouting clichés, and it is good that you have run that cover. I'm tired of feminists who assume that their formulas for what is sexism, and the exploitation of women are and should be accepted by all women. It is sad when well-meaning people think they can liberate others by telling them what to think, how to act, what to wear, how to feel—ad infinitum.

—Susan Sauvageau
Seneca Falls, N.Y.

Grossed out

Editor:

Each week I usually look forward to receiving a bundle of *IN THESE TIMES* for distribution in the Ann Arbor area. This week (*ITT*, March 16) I was completely grossed out by your cover. I cannot distribute or promote the sexist shit that you have put in your paper. And you call it socialism! So you can forget it for this issue.

Not being a woman, I cannot speak for women. But I believe that you owe an apology, on your front page, to women and all people who struggle for a new society.

It's up to you now.

—Bruce Curtis
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Enraged

Editor:

The full-page photo of Faye Dunaway languishing in a low-cut gown on the cover of your March 16 issue amazed and enraged me. Just to get my perspectives clear on the matter, I went back over previous issues of *ITT* to check the cover layouts. Sure enough, there has not been one other full-page cover photo of anything—be it woman, man or animal—since *ITT* began publication. What warrants the presence of this photo? Does objectification sell better than principles? In relation to the article, perhaps the photo of Ring Lardner Jr. would have been more germane—but then, he's not as seductive as Faye, is he?

—D. Clifford
Burlington, Vt.

More letters next page.

Editor's note: We are now receiving more letters than we can print, even though we're printing more than a page each week. We don't want them to stop, but we do want readers to try to keep their letters short. The shorter each letter is, the more we can print. We can, and do, cut letters. But it's better, and easier, if you keep them under 250 words.

Roberta Lynch

Is DSOC on the right foot?

Since the 1960s the left in the advanced capitalist countries has undergone a two-sided development that has shaken some dominant doctrines of left ideology to the core. In Western Europe the changes have been rapid and deep: the Communist parties have been revitalized and democratized in many respects; new left groupings have shifted to the point where the "extra-parliamentary" left is now an active practitioner of electoral politics; and the socialist parties have overcome their historic anti-communism sufficiently to ally with both the Communist parties and the new left.

Yet these changes have made it clear that the problem of revolution in the advanced capitalist countries cannot simply be blamed on the stagnation of the Communist parties or on the extreme militancy of the new left. The other side of the developments is the growing understanding that a profound crisis of socialist strategy exists in the West.

Only those who proudly wear the badge of revolutionary purity have escaped anguished re-appraisals of their political approach. It is an international phenomenon that is already breaking down old shibboleths and old alignments. In the U.S. we share this problem, and it is made more acute by the lack of a socialist tendency within the working class. To the current historic dilemma is added—for us in the left here—the particular task of overcoming isolation and becoming a realistic alternative to politics-as-usual.

The recent national convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) must be seen in this context. DSOC comes out of a tradition of socialist anti-communism. It is an international tradition that has tended to be fearful of revolutionary upheaval, to identify the advanced welfare state with socialism, and to tolerate the global ravage of American imperialism. And it is a tradition that has always gained acceptance within the political mainstream more easily.

The extent to which DSOC is moving away from the worst aspects of this force in American politics impressed many observers at its recent convention. DSOC combines work on immediate reforms (particularly those on the agenda of the

labor movement) and attempts to legitimize a socialist politics (primarily by getting prominent people to "come out" as socialists). While DSOC is still relatively small (2,000 members) and has little infrastructure or chapter-level activity, its modest successes loom large in the light of the lack of visibility or impact of the rest of the left.

Unfortunately, there is more to the picture. DSOC has not simply shed its past as easily as a snake sheds its skin. It is rather an amalgam of its history (or rather the collective history of its members) and new influences (both from new members and the changing world situation).

Perhaps most disturbing is the weight of DSOC's anti-communist heritage. DSOC leader Michael Harrington says that although there are a variety of opinions within the organization, DSOC itself does not have any position on the existing socialist countries. Yet DSOC's national office published and actively distributes a pamphlet on "What is Socialism?" that includes such statements as, "The Communist regimes claim to 'own' the state as Princes of old did and they claim to 'own' factories just as capitalists do. Socialism is no less opposed to the Commissars than to the Capitalists." And, "Socialism is equally opposed to Soviet and Western imperialism."

The problem is compounded by DSOC's membership in the Socialist International. Although Harrington says that DSOC is on the "left-wing" of this body, the literature that it distributes in this country says only that it is "proud" to be a member and does not distinguish among the forces involved. These may include the French and the Swedes (with whom Harrington says DSOC closely identifies), but it also includes the ruling parties of Israel, Portugal, and West Germany. While DSOC strongly emphasizes the importance of speaking out "when democratic rights are violated by a communist government," to the best of my knowledge it has not had this same emphasis on speaking out against its "comrades" when it comes to the Israeli violations of the rights of the Palestinian people, the Soares acceptance of CIA funds, or the West German anti-communist laws.

All of this helps to explain why DSOC frankly prefers to minimize questions of foreign policy. It is certainly possible to argue that there is no reason for a small left organization to take stands on every world issue when it is not strong enough to affect them. However, there can be little doubt that any socialist movement that develops in the major imperial power in the world must have an understanding of and opposition to American imperialism as a key aspect of its politics. The demonstrated leanings of DSOC on such questions as Portugal and Israel raise real doubts about how it would approach international issues if it does grow to be a major force.

DSOC's strategy within the U.S. also requires further scrutiny. There may at times be merit to socialist participation within the Democratic Party, but that participation needs to take place with open acknowledgement of the corporate domination of the party. DSOC sees its main function as a loyal opposition within the Democratic Party. Its literature consistently describes the battles within the party as being between the "right liberals" and the "left liberals" (or democratic left), failing to discuss the more fundamental problem of the power of capital in controlling the party. Without such discussion the DSOC approach serves to obscure the class nature of the Democratic Party and the deep-rooted problems with attempting to transform it.

Moreover, while there is no doubt that gaining the support of major labor leaders can help to legitimize socialist politics, the DSOC approach of organizing from the top is fraught with its own problems. DSOC says that it stands aloof from struggles within the labor movement—it will embrace a union's leadership and its rank-and-file dissidents without taking sides in their disputes. But a socialist organization is in an awkward position if it fails to recognize the centrality not just of making trade unionists into socialists, but of making the labor movement—if I may use what seems to be an archaic term these days—into an instrument of class struggle.

It is certainly true, as one DSOC leader said, that many labor leaders are ahead of their members on larger social ques-

tions. But it is also true that there are a sufficient number of historical and contemporary examples of labor leaders who lag far behind (and even obstruct) the militancy and demands of their membership to give cause for worry about a laissez faire attitude toward the trade movement. It is a real mistake if DSOC's emphasis on labor leadership leads it to ignore the necessity for rank-and-file activity and union democracy in the transformation of the labor movement.

In the end there is still the question of DSOC's understanding of socialism. While few of us can be precise about the shape of the socialist future, it is possible to distinguish between an advanced welfare state and socialist democracy. Michael Harrington has explicitly stated that he does not "equate socialism with the welfare state." But observers at the convention report that DSOC leaders consistently referred to the Scandinavian countries as "models" for their efforts. And DSOC's membership in the Socialist International further confuses the question.

The changes in the left on a world scale are opening up space for new alliances and for potential re-alignments. In this country there needs to be frank and open discussions of cooperation among left forces that are not encased within worn-out categories or self-righteous posturing. It's important to recognize that the changes demonstrated at the recent DSOC convention are progressive steps in this process. The organization's emphasis on democracy, its open advocacy of socialism, and its efforts to relate to current realities and struggles are a real advance over its past history. But the fundamental questions about DSOC's direction are far too serious to be lightly passed over in the interests of an easy unity. They could be at the heart of determining the role that DSOC will play within the left.

I have focused on DSOC because of the interest sparked by its recent convention. In so doing, I am not implying that other left organizations, including my own, do not have weaknesses and problems.

Roberta Lynch is National Secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.



More Letters

An open letter to the President

President Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Carter:

I write to you in the 22nd year of my exile from the U.S., having been deported (originally to my native Britain) at the instance of Sen. Joe McCarthy for my political and moral principles. Under Section 212 of the immigration law I must "actively oppose" those principles in order to return to the country where I lived nearly all of my active life, and of which my wife and three children are citizens. (I myself qualified for citizenship in 1942 but was denied it through no fault of my own.)

My principles are not for sale, as you have indicated that yours are not since your first bid for the Presidency. Hence this shameful law condemns not only myself, but my Chicago-born wife, to lifetime exile.

We are greatly heartened by your

press-conference statement about human rights for politically unorthodox aliens in the United States. For the first time in decades, an American President seems to share with us—and with many senators and representatives who have written to us, and with the *New York Times* (editorial, Feb. 24)—abhorrence of the political section of the McCarran-Walter immigration law.

My wife and I want to return, but we are only one among thousands of "alien" families who are barred from the U.S. Convinced as we are that Section 212 harms the U.S. more than it harms individuals in our general category, we earnestly petition you to use your influence for the reform of this "relic of McCarthyism."

Sincerely and respectfully,

—Cedric Belfrage
Cuernavaca Morelos, Mexico

Editor's note: We urge our readers to write President Carter, or your representative, in support of Belfrage, who was editor of the National Guardian when he was deported in 1956.

More on BROTHEL 8

Editor:

Janet Stevenson is right that the Japanese film *Brothel 8* is a great feminist film (*ITT*, March 16). She is wrong in stating that it has never been shown commercially outside Chicago. Last year it

played to overflow crowds and was held over in Los Angeles, at the Toho La Brea, one of several theaters whose audience consists primarily of L.A.'s large Japanese-American community. What is more, the film got a rave review from the Hollywood-oriented *L.A. Times*; not because it was feminist, but because it won all the Japanese academy awards!

—Jon Wiener
Los Angeles

This is news to us

Editor:

When *IN THESE TIMES* first appeared I was extremely enthusiastic and thought that perhaps *ITT* could play the role of developing a truly socialist party in the U.S.; that it would in some way unite the fragmented left, a desire shared by many. But I can't express strongly enough my disappointment with the recent changes in *ITT*. Besides removing your Independent Socialist masthead, that removal was accompanied with first a lead story of Mike Harrington (*ITT*, March 2) but was followed with a lead story of Tom Hayden (that was rather poorly done and one-sided). Aligning with either Harrington or Hayden, which from all appearances you are, will prevent *ITT* from playing a role in uniting the left. While Harrington identifies himself as a Socialist, he is anti-communist. Hayden on the other hand uses

the term economic democracy rather than socialism simply because he has openly proclaimed that he is not a socialist. *ITT* appears to be haunted by that old specter opportunism. A more open discussion of this issue is past due.

Obviously it was my desire to see *ITT* fill a crucial void by building on the independent socialist perspective, but your removal of the independent socialist masthead indicates that you are no longer independent.

—Jon Christensen
Ocean Beach, Calif.

Editor's note: We have not removed "Independent Socialist" from our masthead. See page 2. The other "changes" are of a similar nature.

CORRECTION

In Bernard Moss' report on the Madrid conference of French, Italian and Spanish Communist party leaders (*ITT*, March 16, pg. 11), Eurocommunism is defined as "the term commonly employed to describe their new bureaucratic approach to socialism." This should have read "their new democratic approach to socialism." Our apologies to Moss and to our readers.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

PROFILE

Julius Hobson: Washington gadfly

By Joe Holt Anderson

"You can't run a revolution by Robert's Rules of Order."

"Don't go around yelling about black power with an African turban on your head. If you're going to Africa learn Swahili. If you're going to live in the United States, learn English. You'll have to teach yourself to read because the D.C. schools won't do it."

—Julius Hobson

Washington. Julius W. Hobson died March 23. He had been successively the principal desegregator of road houses and gas stations along the main highway from New York to Washington, a picketing creator of job freedom in Washington; winner and financial martyr of perhaps the most important school desegregation case since 1954, a founder of the District of Columbia Statehood party, a school board member, and member of the D.C. city council. Through it all he remained the gadfly of the nation's capitol and a champion of equal rights and justice. Cynthia Gorney of the *Washington Post* wrote at his death: "He had hoped that his heart would last until he could begin to change the world, and it did."

The first time his doctors gave Hobson six months to live—in 1971—the tall, conservatively dressed black activist leader said, "Well, I've lived long enough." He proceeded to accept the almost unanimous plaudits of a city that long had sneered at him, won election to the first democratically elected city council in almost a hundred years and managed to be for five years tougher than the multiple myeloma, a spinal cancer, that had shrunk him into a wheelchair.

Then in early January Hobson called a press conference to say his doctors had once again given him six months to live. This time the problem was acute leukemia.

Though he thought he had only a 1-in-10 chance to survive, he said that he intended to go to his District Building (city hall) office as long as he could before undergoing the usually feckless and painful treatment of radical chemotherapy.

►Remained in action.

In the next three months he reintroduced his perennial statehood bill in the D.C. city council and worked to restructure his Statehood party so as to make it survive him. He also lived to see his son Julius, Jr. play an active role on the D.C. board of education.

Hobson's goal of statehood for Washington, D.C. was one he acknowledged was not going to be tomorrow's victory. "What too many politicians don't realize," he said, "is that true home rule" for the District, meaning voting representation in both houses of Congress, "would take a constitutional amendment, and that's just too much hassle. Statehood would accomplish the same thing, and all that takes is an act of Congress."

He'd won less likely victories before.

The Maryland portion of U.S. Highway 40 used to get headlines in the 1950s because of the difficulty black diplomats from what were then called the "emerging nations" had in getting gas or food service during trips between their UN missions in New York and their embassies in Washington.

The diplomatic incidents that kept State department duty officers awake weekend nights kept Hobson, as head of the D.C. chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, busy on picket lines, leafletting campaigns and frequent trips to jail.

There was no single day when the



"Ideologically I consider myself a Marxist... I believe in socialism; I believe what we're fighting over is the distribution of goods and services and the production of them, and I believe that everybody on earth has the inalienable right to share in them."

Route 40 campaign was won, even though favorable decisions from the Warren Supreme Court came with frequency. But today, nearly everyone who can afford it gets served.

In his next big fight Hobson led more than 80 picket lines at some 120 retail stores. The result was employment for more than 5,000 blacks.

In his study *Captive Capital* Sam Smith quotes Hobson on the rationale behind his economic campaigns: "The struggle isn't whether you like a nigger or a nigger likes a cracker or whitey is a pig or any of that stuff. I've called people whitey and pig and the FBI never said a word. All I have to do is put on a dashiki, get a wig, go out there on 14th St. (Main Street of the Washington ghetto), and yell, 'Whitey is a pig and I'm going to take care of him'—the FBI will stand there and laugh at me. But the moment I start to discuss the way goods and services are distributed and I start talking about the nature of the political system and show that it's a corollary of the economic system, that's when the FBI comes in for harassment."

►Hobson was a socialist.

Hobson was a socialist. He grew up in Birmingham, Ala., graduating in the late '30s from Industrial High School, considered in those days an appropriate place for a black lad to be schooled.

He took an engineering degree at Wayne State, flew during World War II, won three Bronze Stars and came out (25 years later) hating war more effectively than the average next guy.

He took an M.A. in economics at Howard and, through the influence of teachers, some of whom later were fired during the

McCarthy era, adopted the political philosophy he professed throughout the rest of his life. "Ideologically I consider myself a Marxist.... I believe in socialism; I believe what we're fighting over is the distribution of goods and services and the production of them, and I believe that everybody on earth has the inalienable right to share in them."

Kicked out of CORE—"revolution and Robert's Rules...I must have said it one time too often...they kicked me out"—he moved on to another arena where he was to have, perhaps, his most profound impact.

►Hobson vs. Hansen.

The D.C. public schools, desegregated only 10 years at that time, were struggling at once with the white exodus from the city and to private schools and with the increasing awareness that the social patterns of nonstandard (ghetto) life produce neither academic equivalency nor relevancy in standard school testing procedures.

A mild, Deweyite product of the Midwest, Carl F. Hansen, was superintendent of the D.C. schools and a vocal advocate of the "track system" he had installed. In this, pupils placed in one of the three available general ability groupings—or "tracks"—had little chance to move up to the "honors" or "college-bound" track.

Hobson contested the fairness of the system and its basically white-oriented testing systems. On behalf of his minor children, among others, he filed suit against Hansen and others.

Not only were the moneyed whites of the city appalled, Hobson began losing his support among the black community.

"Always stirring up trouble," they said. Others turned black eyes down at his white wife (he had been divorced from the black mother of his two children).

People said he objected to ability groupings in schools; "all our kids have to study with the dummies." Not so, he said, he protested only the inflexibility of the track system.

In those days Hobson was pretty much on his own. "He barely had six followers," one observer remembered. "He couldn't organize shit," said another. The legal costs of his suit, *Hobson v. Hansen*, kept mounting even after he had won, and he calculated once that he spent \$25,000 of never-recovered personal funds.

"Well, it was just an investment in winning a good fight," he said.

►On to the school board.

The final decision outlawed the track system (though not ability grouping, which in less flexible form, continues in the D.C. public school system with the blessings of Hobson Jr.). The decision also knocked down some seniority and other procedures that had resulted in *de facto* segregation of most teachers, if not pupils. It opened the way for the first time for busing as a tool to end segregation.

The embarrassment *Hobson v. Hansen* caused led indirectly to congressional action to permit election of school board members—the first D.C. local elections since the previous century. Board members had formerly been chosen by the federal district court.

Hobson ran for and won a seat on the school board.

Deeply in debt, not only because of the cost of the lawsuit but because of the time off he had had to take from his civil service job, Hobson seemed to have little place to go. He had formed his own civil rights group, ACT (Associated Community Teams) and had his low-paying school board membership.

►Statehood party and the city council.

The District of Columbia got, first, the right to elect a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives and, finally, the right to elect its own city council.

In what was most likely a trade-off to win Republican votes in Congress (the District votes about 84 percent Democratic), the home rule charter that Congress approved required minority representation on the D.C. city council: there was a limitation on the number of members who might come from one party.

Meanwhile, Hobson had founded the Statehood party to oppose Walter Fauntroy for the non-voting congressional seat. He got beat, but he had a political organization. So when one of the two minority seats was available on the city council in 1972, it was no surprise that the Statehood party and Julius Hobson outpolled the Republicans for one of those seats.

The Statehood party now has the statutory right to name Hobson's successor on the city council, pending a special election. His wife Tina or his son Julius Jr. are among the most-proposed candidates. Others in the Statehood party are also eager for the role. When the special election comes, anybody who's not a Democrat can run.

The day after Julius died, the *Washington Post* editorialized: "...For all his strident bluster, Julius Hobson was a deeply compassionate, gentle, generous and astonishingly candid man. His death is an enormous loss to the community. But the memory of that hat, that pipe, that freewheeling Alabama twang and the legacy of Julius Hobson will remain." Julius' friends on the left can only agree.

Joe Holt Anderson is a writer in Washington, D.C.

MEDIA



Photo by Jane Melnick

Rapid consolidation in media ownership

By Suzanne de Lesseps
Editorial Research Reports

"The press in our free country is reliable and useful not because of its good character but because of its great diversity," author E.B. White wrote last year in a letter to the Xerox Corp., protesting the company's sponsorship of an article in *Esquire* magazine. "As long as there are many owners, each pursuing his own brand of truth, we the people have the opportunity to arrive at the truth and to dwell in the light. The multiplicity of ownership is crucial."

White's words carry force as an ideology, and most journalists would hold them to be true. But they run head-on into a hard reality: it takes big money to own and operate a newspaper or broadcasting station. The image of family-owned, independently run newspapers spread out across the country is fading fast.

According to newspaper analyst John Morton, about 60 percent of the nation's 1,756 daily newspapers are under multiple (or "chain") ownership, up from 50 percent in 1971. Of the 1,500 cities with daily newspapers, fewer than 50 have competing dailies, in contrast to 700 in 1920. Even in 23 cities where newspapers are separately owned, the local papers have joint operating agreements on printing and advertising.

The growing concentration of media ownership has gained attention in recent months with the purchase of several American publications by Australian publisher Rupert Murdoch. Since November Murdoch has acquired the daily *New York Post*, the weekly *Village Voice*, and *New York* and *New West* magazines, bringing the number of his publications in the U.S. to seven.

Two mergers of sizable chains also occurred at the end of last year. In November the Newhouse Newspapers outbid the Los Angeles-based Times-Mirror Co. to acquire Booth Newspapers, which include eight dailies in Michigan, the *Parade* Sunday magazine supplement and various printing plants.

Then in December the Gannett Co. announced an agreement in principle to merge with Spidel Newspapers. The additional dailies would push Gannett's total number of dailies above 70 and make the company by far the nation's largest newspaper group in terms of dailies owned.

Joint newspaper/broadcast ownerships in the same community is another problem. In 1975 the Federal Communications Commission ordered the breakup of such combinations in 16 cities but left untouched 79 other existing newspaper/broadcast combinations in 74 cities. For them the rule would be invoked only if there was a future change of ownership.

This may no longer be so, however, if a recent ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia is sustained on appeal. On March 1, the appellate court ordered the commission to adopt new rules calling for the breakup of all joint newspaper/broadcasting operations unless they were clearly "in the public interest."

Television is currently the object of two separate government inquiries—one by the Justice Department and the other by the FCC. The first, now almost five years old, is an antitrust suit charging the networks with illegally monopolizing prime-time television programming. Although NBC reached a proposed settlement with the government last fall, the other two big commercials networks, ABC and CBS, remain defendants in the suit.

The second investigation is an FCC inquiry into network restrictive and anti-competitive policies. The probe was prompted by a petition from the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.

Some of the issues involved in the FCC investigation are expected to overlap with those in a review of the 1934 Communications Act that Congress plans to start this year. The act was written before the arrival of television and computerized communications, and many feel it is past time to rewrite it.

The name of the game has always been profit

There is no consideration, social or other, that is permitted to take precedence over cash flow.

By Herbert I. Schiller

At the end of November the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice supported a petition of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company (Group W) to the Federal Communications Commission for an inquiry into television network practices.

An inquiry would be useful in documenting what we already know: that three super communications corporations—CBS, NBC (itself part of RCA) and ABC—profit mightily from and exercise a powerful influence over television in America.

Where did TV networks come from? Did they evolve out of the competitive process, where demonstrated superior performance is supposed to achieve its own rewards? Did NBC, CBS and ABC do things better? Were their broadcasting efforts outstanding? Was their programming exceptional?

The reality is less complimentary to the myths of American private enterprise. The present-day TV networks are the direct descendants of the radio monopoly networks—which were themselves off-spring of the telephone and electrical equipment trusts.

Fifty years ago, in 1926, RCA—the post-World War I creation of AT&T, General Electric and Westinghouse—formed the National Broadcasting Co. NBC set up two transcontinental radio networks (one of which eventually became ABC after an anti-trust divestiture suit). The Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) started a year later in 1927.

►World War II.

These three communications corporations grew fat during World War II. They dominated the broadcasting scene when television was introduced on a mass commercial basis in the late 1940s. When the smoke cleared, after the initial chaos accompanying the appearance of a major new industry, to no one's surprise, CBS, NBC and ABC (a postwar merger of broadcast and motion picture interests) sat astride the new booming sector of the economy. Once again, the power of accumulated capital prevailed. The independent was out in the cold.

For the last quarter of a century, no competitor has been able to break into the neat national money-making arrangement these three companies have created for themselves.

Sometimes, it is mistakenly believed that broadcasting is primarily concerned with news, entertainment and culture. Actually, these activities are strictly incidental and always secondary to the main objective. From the beginning of radio broadcasting, in the early 1920s, the exclusive concern of the businessmen who owned the facilities and ran the show has always been money.

Initially, the programs that were aired were broadcast to get people to buy radio sets. As soon as most households had receivers, the station-owners began to sell air-time to advertisers.

This has remained the paramount interest of the broadcast moguls—large and small. Thus, the programs the networks make available to the local stations are conceived, produced and transmitted with one, and only one objective—to attract as large an audience as possible. The larger the audience, the higher the charge that may be put on the time sold to the advertiser.

The networks determine the character and quality of the country's television diet, largely through their control of national programming. They decide what kind of material is to be produced. Then, they transmit it nationally to their 650 or so affiliated stations (about three-quarters of all stations on the air).

The networks exercise such dominant control because it costs a lot of money to produce an episode of *Kojack*, or *Cannon* or *Hawaii 5-0*. Local stations, network affiliates, are more than content to get paid for showing material produced centrally at lesser cost to themselves.

CBS, NBC and ABC also each own the maximum number of UHF (ultra high frequency) TV stations permitted a single owner (five). As might be expected, all these stations are located in the biggest, richest urban areas. The industry terms these places "markets." For example, the 15 stations owned and operated by CBS, NBC and ABC regularly account for somewhere between 20-25 percent of the profits of the entire industry—which comprises more than 750 stations. Thus the properties of the networks are the television equivalents of GM in cars, Proctor and Gamble in soap and Lockheed in aircraft.

Network profitability and programming control notwithstanding, it would be misleading and inaccurate to attribute to the Big Three total responsibility for the catastrophe that is American television.

Television is what it is because it is owned and operated, bought and sold as a profit-making private business, no different from soap or automobiles. Depending on the size of the market, anyone with a few million dollars change can buy a TV station. Individually-owned or part of a group, commercial television stations are money-making enterprises first and foremost. There is no consideration, social or other, that is permitted to take precedence over cash flow. Greed and conservatism are the common denominators whether the owners are large or small, group or individual.

►No grass roots.

It is ludicrous therefore to speak of "grass roots" commercial television as an alternative to network domination—one of the favorite Nixon/Agnew ploys. The locals are no less money-mad than the networks. Besides, there are relatively few stations that actually qualify as genuinely independent and local.

In the quarter of a century since TV took over the American living room, multiple station owners (group owners) now hold "the licenses of nearly three-fourths of all TV stations in the country's largest markets," reported a recent study. And more than 80 percent of the nation's TV households are located in these communities.

The concentration of ownership rises with the importance of the market. In the top ten markets in the country—ranked according to the size of the potential audience—e.g., New York City is the top market, Chicago the second, Los Angeles is third, and so on—85 percent of all the TV stations are group-owned. In the top 100 markets the figure is 71 percent. It's a tough assignment to discover an independent broadcaster. The accompanying box shows the ten largest TV ownership groups in the country in 1975.

The commercial television industry never ceases to inform and congratulate its audience—us—on how fortunate we are to have "free" television available, almost 24 hours a day. Not only does it cost nothing, so their argument goes, but it is free also in that it is servile to no external controller.

Neither claim is valid. The audience pays heavily, though indirectly, for its "free" television. And the economic constraints imposed by running television as a business may be no less onerous, though less visible, than the direct intrusions of a tyrannical state.

Herbert I. Schiller is Professor of Communications at the University of California, San Diego. His most recent book is *Communication and Cultural Domination* (1976).

Television Station Group Ownership in the U.S. in January, 1975

CBS (owned & operated)	1	15,077,600 (homes)	5
NBC (owned & operated)	2	14,493,800	5
ABC (owned & operated)	3	14,452,900	5
Metromedia	4	11,655,000	6 (Incl. 1 UHF)
RKO-General	5	8,723,200	4
Westinghouse	6	8,550,600	5
WGN-Continental	7	7,349,200	4
Kaiser	8	6,217,600	7 (Incl. 2 UHF)
Capital Cities	9	5,098,700	6 (Incl. 1 UHF)
Storer	10	5,016,600	7 (Incl. 2 UHF)

Source: Herbert H. Howard, "The Contemporary Status of Television Group Ownership," *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn, 1976, p. 404.

SPORTS

Watch for the kicker in athletic scholarships

In many instances the image of the athletic scholarship as a vehicle of upward mobility is a cruel deception.

By Mark Naison

In almost every inner-city basketball league, one of the first things an outsider notices is the amazing variety of college tee-shirts worn by the players. At schoolyards in Harlem, community centers in Philadelphia, church gyms in Washington, you see athletes in their late twenties wearing logos from places like Arizona State, Texas El Paso, Nevada Las Vegas, University of Wyoming and you say to yourself, "hey, isn't it great that people from neighborhoods like this get a chance to receive a free education and spend four years in places free of crime and drugs and poverty."

But if you stay around and talk to folks, the picture assumes a very different shape. John-John, the big center and shot-blocker with the Arizona uniform, makes a living loading trucks. Skate, the point guard with the amazing moves, drives a cab and runs numbers on the side. Snuff, the graceful forward who can still dominate play at any given moment, seems to lose concentration periodically because he's a junkie.

When you probe further, you discover that all these people have one thing in common: they attended college on an athletic scholarship, but *never received a degree*. In their senior year in high school, they were courted by recruiters who promised them a glittering future if they competed for their schools, but after four years of college ball they were back on the street.

► A cruel deception.

If you think these stories are unusual, consider the following facts: of the five starters on the Texas Western basketball team that won the NCAA championship in 1966, not one received a college degree. Of the 25 scholarship athletes who played freshman football at Syracuse in 1959, only three graduated with their class. Of the 12 players on the roster of the NBA Kansas City Kings in 1972, all of whom attended college, only two had actually received degrees.

In many instances, the image of the athletic scholarship as a vehicle of upward mobility for disadvantaged youths is a cruel deception. The time-demands placed on scholarship athletes in the money-making sports—basketball and football—are so severe that it's very difficult to function as a serious student. If the athlete has severe educational problems to begin with, then it's virtually impossible.

At Fordham, the school where I teach (which does not run a big-time program), basketball players practice four hours a day and miss ten days of class each semester because of "away games." Players in my classes who are good students barely keep up; those with academic problems are forced to drop out.

Some schools get around this by cultivating teams of professors who automatically pass any athlete (See Gary Shaw's *Meat on the Hoof* for more on this); others hire people to tutor or write their papers. But much of the time the athletes are left on their own. After all, it is the athlete's performance on the court, not in the class room, that is the institution's major concern.

► Athlete is a commodity.

To the athletic department and the college administration, the scholarship athlete is a commodity who can be used to "market" the institution to prospective student, alumni, and (if it's a state school) members of the state legislature. The revenues brought in from tuition, contributions, gate receipts and television rights more than justify the initial investment of room, board, spending money, and an oc-

casional Cadillac or Corvette. But once the athlete can no longer play, either because he's injured or his eligibility ends, he ceases to be useful to the institution and is treated accordingly.

As might be expected, students from working class backgrounds are most often victims of this system. Unless they have a high school coach who is determined to protect their interest, or have access to someone in their neighborhood who knows how recruiting works, they are easily taken in by fast-talking coaches who promise them fame, money and an exciting social life, while glibly avoiding questions about their academic responsibilities.

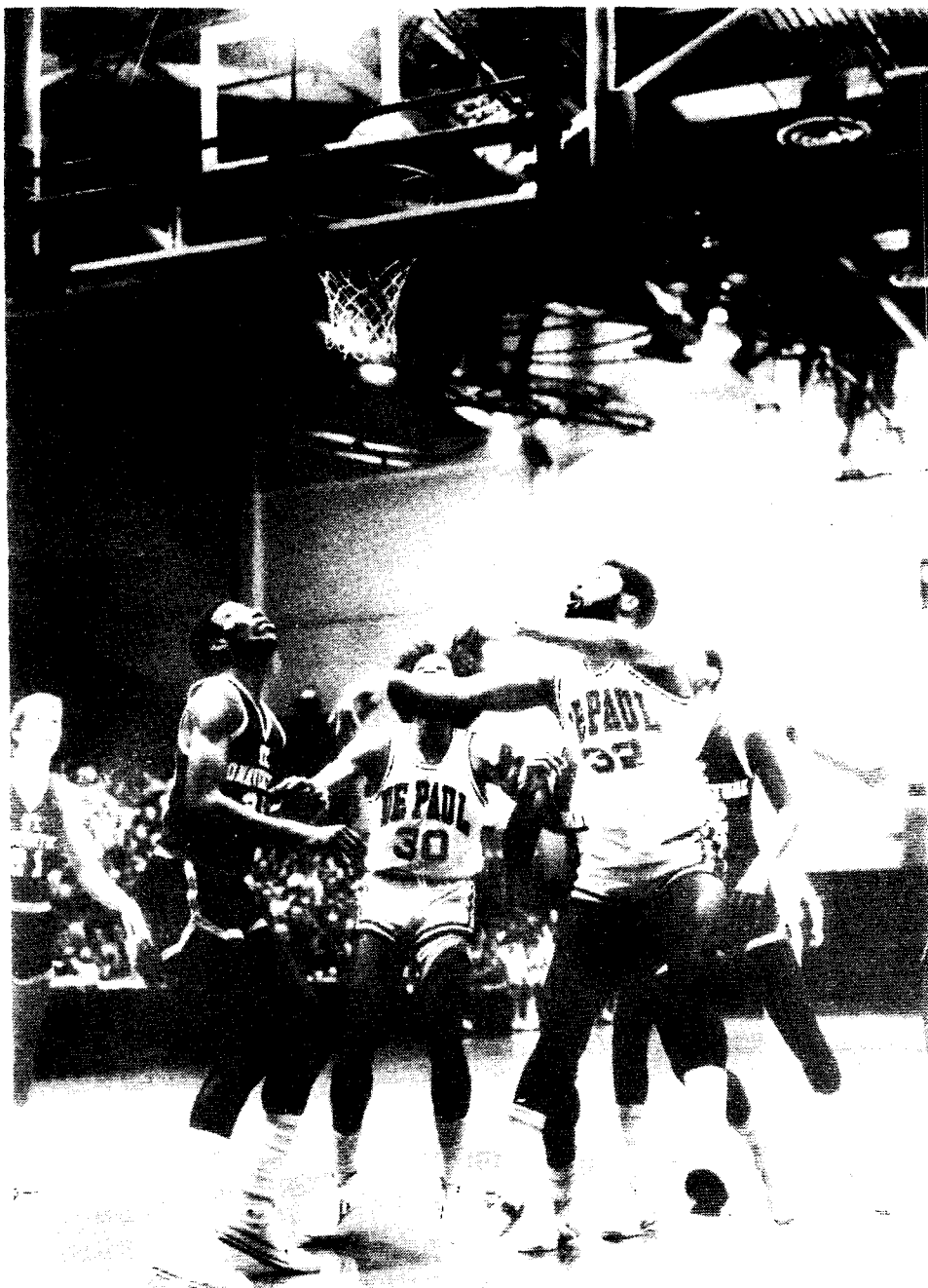
What then, can people do to prevent the massive exploitation of athletes by the colleges? In the long run, the best solution is probably the abolition of athletic scholarships and the conversion of big-time college sports programs into openly professional operations that pay decent salaries to those who participate.

The services now offered to college athletes—a "free education" plus under-the-table benefits—in no way represents fair compensation for the time the athlete puts in or the economic gains registered by the institution as a result of his (or her) labor. If schools are going to provide sports entertainment to their student bodies and the general public, let them deal with their athletes as skilled employees who can bargain collectively over wages and working conditions, rather than maintaining the fiction that they are full time students "just like everyone else."

► Advice on scholarships.

However, since universities are likely to resist such changes, at least for a while, we should be able to advise young athletes how to protect themselves from the most destructive recruiting practices. The following are a list of questions that should be asked of any institution that is offering someone an athletic scholarship. If you know a young person being besieged by recruiters, make sure he or she gets the following information from each school:

1. What percentage of the scholarship



Scholarship athletes: will they be able to receive degrees?

Photo by Gail Radzewich

athletes in my sport graduate in four years? What percentage graduate at all?

2. How many hours per week will I be expected to practice before, after and during the season that my sport is played? How many classes will I be required to miss each semester as a result of travel time?

3. What happens to my scholarship if I incur a serious injury? Will I be required to play when injured?

4. What is the profile of academic majors among scholarship athletes in my sport? Will I be pushed into "mickey mouse" courses?

5. What is the career profile of scholarship athletes in my sport over the last five years? What counseling services do you provide for them after their eligibility is used up?

A college recruiter should be able to provide answers to *all* of these questions. If he cannot, the chances are his institution shows little concern for the academic accomplishments of its athletes, and the student should look elsewhere for the opportunity to exchange his or her skill for education.

Mark Naison is helping to coordinate, with Jack Russell sports coverage for *In These Times*. They invite suggestions and contributions, which should be sent to them c/o *In These Times*.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM



Art Carney, Lily Tomlin, Bill Macy

Lily Tomlin, Art Carney & cat ring changes on Sam Spade

THE LATE SHOW

Written and directed by Robert Benton
Starring Art Carney and Lily Tomlin
Produced by Robert Altman, distributed by Warner Bros., rated PG

Fans of Sam Spade and Phillip Marlowe (can you hear me out there?), here's your chance to catch up with that salty heel, the private eye of former years. *The Late Show* is Robert Benton's (writer and director) nostalgic, zany tribute to the genre.

Old detectives, unlike old shoes, don't grow more comfortable; they pinch in more places. Ira Wells (Art Carney) has retired to a boarding house room in a marvelously seedy section of old Los Angeles to cultivate his ulcers, go to the races and take his own shirts to the laundromat. It is his old friend Harry (Howard Duff) arriving on his doorstep in the middle of the night, who gets the old bloodhound moving again.

Harry falls over dead, half his stomach shot away, before he can say who done it. The gore is a concession to today's "taste". In the old days we would have accepted the fact that Harry was "hurt bad" without having to be shown the mess. But Benton doesn't tarry on that point long.

It is at Harry's funeral that Margo first appears. She wants Ira to give her little cat a break and to take on the case of its kidnapping. How Harry's murder intertwines with the case of the kidnapped cat is the subject

"Old detectives, unlike old shoes, don't grow more comfortable; they pinch in more places."

matter of an endlessly complicated plot line. The real entertainment is the menu of zany appealing characters Benton dishes up.

Margo is an out-and-out loon, played by Lily Tomlin. She came to Hollywood to be an actress. As the years slipped by she became, or called herself, a dress designer, and took to dealing grass to pay her psychiatrist's bills. She lives alone and hates it. Her words spill out so compulsively that everyone wants to hide from her, even her friend Charlie Hatter (convincingly played by Bill Macy), a small-time unsuccessful theatrical producer who earns his living as a bartender.

Lily Tomlin is as funny as possible without slipping over into farce. Funny and touching. Benton probes behind the facades of speech—the way people want you to think they are—to reveal the cracks of vulnerability in the "real" personality.

Art Carney never seems to be acting the part of Ira Wells. He just is that curmudgeonly old detective with a nose for the right moment, getting himself into trouble by poking that nose in where it has no right to be, all the while protesting that he is

minding his own business. The growing need of Ira, the confirmed loner, for frenetic Margo is so affectionately built that you are rooting for Margo even while Ira tries desperately to escape her.

Seedy as they all are—Margo, Charlie and Ira—Benton has made them appealing and human, picking up the little things about people that bring them to life.

He has also littered the scene with too many gory corpses to please this viewer. I don't mind corpses. They go with the territory. It's the gore. One man is found in a pink sea of his own blood mixed with the water from a ruptured water-bed. While another bleeds to death, you watch the pool collecting around his feet (The corpse-to-be is happily unaware of what's going on.) I laughed when Benton said laugh, but hated myself for it.

The Late Show is not just a stroll down memory lane with Benton and Robert Altman (producer of the show). It functions on many levels: the Raymond Chandler/Ross McDonald level, affectionately spoofed; the intriguingly intricate plot; and the cast of kooky, creepy, cranky characters. Have a ball!

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor in New York, and reviews films regularly for *In These Times*.

Twilight sheds no new light

TWILIGHT'S LAST GLEAMING

Directed by Robert Aldrich
Screenplay by Ronald M. Cohen and Edward Huebsch, from the novel by Walter Wager
Starring Burt Lancaster

Twilight's Last Gleaming is a story about how three escaped prisoners—one a former general, played by Burt Lancaster—take over an ICBM site in Montana and threaten to attack the USSR unless the President goes on the air to tell the American people the real reason we were in Vietnam.

The film is advertised as suspenseful and convincing, but it is neither. It is, however, the first major film this reviewer has seen that acknowledges that the U.S. was the culprit in the war in Vietnam, and that the conscience of the people must take some form.

So without recommending *Twilight's Last Gleaming*, which is two and a half hours long but in some ways technically interesting (e.g., long and effective use of the split screen), I would like to discuss the film's relationship to its audience.

It is a Conspiracy Film, like *The Manchurian Candidate* and *Seven Days in May*. It is a Bomb Film like *Dr. Strangelove* and *Fail-Safe*, much concerned with the beauty and drama of electronic equipment that can blow up in your face, like TV's *Mission Impossible* and all its imitators. And finally it is a Paranoid Film that plays on the kind of fear an underinformed (or misinformed) audience has about the workings of its government.

Paranoia may be heightened awareness. One of the film's characters (a black lifer who came along with the general for a chance to get out of jail) explains to the incredulous Lancaster why They—the Cabinet, the military, the real heads of state—won't let the President tell the "secret" about Vietnam. He predicts that They will get a double to stand in for him, get midget snipers to kill him ("There are no midgets in the U.S. Air Force!" the general snaps) or just

sacrifice the President to the "greater good."

Some of this man's paranoia is media-propagated; he's been watching too many movies. But it turns out he's right; the President is murdered so he won't make his disclosure. The point that is made is that you can't trust these men without honor to tell you the truth.

The trouble is with the "truth" of this matter. The explanation of the "big secret" is that the U.S. was really in Vietnam to show the Russians we meant business without resorting to full-scale atomic war. The economic underpinnings of the war, the influence of the military-industrial complex or of oil companies—none of these are mentioned. The film argues for accessible knowledge and an open government and that's good. But the "knowledge" it provides about American policy in Southeast Asia is insulting.

There is also an underlying assumption that individual knowledge can lead to power. The smart general gets control of the bombs that will enable him to force the President to change his policy. (Lancaster actually holds up the keys to the rockets and says something like "This is power!") The other prisoner knows better. He thinks the most you can get for this sort of advantage is maybe "a shitload of money." They both get killed. The possibility of a concerted or collective action to achieve a political objective is ignored.

Bomb Films, Conspiracy Films and Paranoid Films work only if the people are shown to be helpless in the face of runaway technology, victims of the button-pushing madman or of the clique of men in power. This may have something to do with why the genre is being pushed so hard. It is more difficult to understand why they have been so popular. There are secrets in the government's closet all right, but this isn't the way to get at them.

—Jeff Weinstein

Jeff Weinstein is a free-lance writer living in New York.

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BOOKS

Arabs in Israel, well-documented but not unbiased

THE ARABS IN ISRAEL

By Sabri Jiryis (translated by Inae Bashnaq; introduction by Noam Chomsky)
Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1976, \$12.50

For the Zionist and the socialist who sympathizes with Israel, this is a painful, deeply disturbing book.

Sabri Jiryis is an Israel-born and educated Palestinian, currently among the leaders of the PLO, who apparently belongs to the faction of Palestinians that is willing to recognize Israel's right to exist and to accept a "two-state solution" to the Middle East conflict.

The Arabs in Israel first appeared in Hebrew in 1966, parts having been censored by the Israeli authorities. This greatly enlarged and updated edition in English is an indictment of Israel for systematic discrimination against the Arab seventh of its population.

In exhaustive detail and a dispassionate, non-polemical manner, Jiryis traces how up to 1966 Arab land ownership and mobility were curtailed through the military government by which Israel ruled its Arab areas (primarily the triangle in the Galilee where the overwhelming majority of Israel's Arabs live, and which, under the UN Partition Resolution of Nov. 29, 1947, was to have become part of a Palestinian state). This rule established restricted areas in which Arab settlement or trespass was prohibited, mandatory passes for travel, military courts, and in some cases administrative detention.

Jiryis also reveals the extent of Arab land expropriated by the Keren Keyemet Leyisrael (Jewish National Fund). He notes that of the 807 Arab villages and towns that existed in 1945, 433 were still in existence in 1967. (How many were destroyed by war or were tiny villages abandoned by all their Arab inhabitants during the 1948 he does not say.) Jiryis explains how Israel has acquired land abandoned by Arab refugees through legal ruses. For example, the Land Acquisition Act of 1953 provided that any land not in the possession of its owner from May 14, 1948, to April 1, 1952, might be bought by the State. Arabs who could prove ownership were compensated—but on the basis of the considerably lower land value of 1950.

By examining Israeli laws, government documents, Knesset

Jiryis writes as though the discrimination he describes were taking place in a political vacuum. . .

debates and newspaper reports, Jiryis also explores the second-class treatment of Arabs in Israel's economy, educational system, local government and religious life. For example, though Israel boasts of the religious autonomy enjoyed by her non-Jewish minorities, Israeli law decrees a majority of non-Moslem members on a 9-person committee appointing judges to Moslem religious courts.

The Arabs in Israel has several major weaknesses. Jiryis writes as though the discrimination he describes were taking place in a political vacuum. Israel is, after all, completely surrounded by countries that are hostile to its very presence. Besides fighting four

debates and newspaper reports, Jiryis also explores the second-class treatment of Arabs in Israel's economy, educational system, local government and religious life. For example, though Israel boasts of the religious autonomy enjoyed by her non-Jewish minorities, Israeli law decrees a majority of non-Moslem members on a 9-person committee appointing judges to Moslem religious courts.

In addition, Jiryis commits a number of historical inaccuracies. He refers to the Irgun's April 1948 massacre of over 200 Arabs at Deir Yassin as "Zionist terror;" in fact, David Ben-

Gurion and other Zionist leaders denounced and repudiated the actions of those who participated in this bloody incident. As the book progresses, Jiryis' tone becomes shrill and increasingly he says Zionists when he means Israelis. While he does mention those Jewish individuals, groups and parties that have protested anti-Arab policies, he does not mention actions by the Israeli government to improve Arab living conditions and Jewish understanding of Arab culture (such as encouraging Jewish students to study Arabic in high school).

Finally, far more than is excusable, he either offers no evidence for his assertions or uses a single isolated example to confirm a generalization.

The Arabs in Israel is hardly a work of "objective" scholarship. It should be read in conjunction with such works as Aharon Cohen's *Israel and the Arab World* and Jacob Landau's *The Arabs*

in Israel. While Jiryis' study does not confirm Noam Chomsky's facile and misleading statement that "To the extent that Israel is a Jewish state, it cannot be a democratic state," it does convey how acute Israel's "Arab problem" is. That problem will probably not be substantially diminished until a Palestinian state is created alongside Israel and, concomitantly, the Arab states and Palestinians publicly recognize Israel's right to exist within secure boundaries. In the meantime, Israel must begin to pay as much attention to the desperate plight of its Arab minority as it has begun to do to that of its Sephardim (Israeli Jews, often economically and culturally disadvantaged, from North Africa, the Arab Mideast and Asia).

—David M. Szonyi

David M. Szonyi is a doctoral candidate in modern European and modern Jewish history and a member of the Executive Board of Breira.

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WOMEN

Wanrow: a new self-defense standard

Seattle, Wash. In 1973 a Spokane Wash., court found Yvonne Wanrow guilty of assault and murder. She was sentenced to serve 25 years in jail on both charges. The Washington State Supreme Court, however, recently reversed Wanrow's conviction and in the process extended the limits to which a woman could go to defend herself. In its ruling, which argued that a woman had the right to equalize her ability to defend herself by using a weapon, the court said: "In our society women suffer from a conspicuous lack of access to training and the means of developing those skills necessary to effectively repel a male assailant without resorting to the use of a deadly weapon."

There is no dispute that Yvonne Wanrow, a Colville Indian, killed William Wesler. The court, however, agreed with the arguments of Wanrow's attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York that the jury had not been adequately instructed to view self-defense from a woman's perspective. Recent interviews with the jurors confirm the influence played by the jury instructions.

In a moment of panic Wanrow, then 29, shot Wesler, 62, and wounded his 26-year-old companion after Wesler burst drunkenly into the house at 5 a.m. in early August 1972.

Wesler, who was known as a child molester, had threatened Wanrow's young son the afternoon before while he was playing outside the home of his babysitter, Shirley Hooper. Wesler later appeared on Hooper's porch to deny the incident, whereupon Hooper's seven-year-old daughter revealed that he was the one who had infected her with venereal disease several months earlier. Learning these facts, Hooper called the police, requesting they arrest Wesler. The police refused, telling her to come in Monday and "swear out a warrant."

►What is reasonable self-defense?

Left without police protection, Hooper asked Wanrow to bring her gun and stay overnight. Growing more fearful, the women later asked Wanrow's sister and brother-in-law to come over. Without the women's knowledge, the brother-in-law went over to Wesler's house in the early morning and confronted him. Deciding to go over and "get everything straightened out," Wesler barged into Hooper's house. Wanrow, her leg in a cast, went to the door to call her brother-in-law, and turned around, running straight into Wesler. Extremely frightened, she shot him and wounded his companion.

Charged with second degree murder and assault, Wanrow plead not guilty because of self-defense and temporary mental irresponsibility.

The trial court told the jury that when a person under attack has no reasonable ground to believe "his person is in danger of death or great bodily harm, and it appears that an ordinary battery is all that is needed...he had no right to repel a threatened assault with naked hands, by the use of a deadly weapon in a deadly manner."

Only the male gender was used in the instructions.

Justice J. Utter, writing for the Supreme Court majority, declared that Wanrow was "entitled to have the jury consider the [shooting] from her point of view, even as it is the product of a long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination."

In its 5-4 decision, the court commented: "The impression created—that a 5'4" woman with a cast on her leg and using a crutch, must, under the law, somehow repel an assault by a 6'2" intoxicated man without employing a weapon in her defense...constitutes a separate and distinct misstatement of the law" and "violates equal protection."

Wanrow's attorneys, Liz Schneider and Nancy Stearns, praised the court's decision, noting that "its adoption of the arguments concerning sex discriminatory



Photo by John Stamets

In our society women suffer from a conspicuous lack of access to training and the means of developing still needed to repel a male assailant without resorting to the use of a deadly weapon.

jury instructions will have a national impact on the treatment of women charged with self-defense-related crimes. However, had the police responded to the request for help that afternoon, self-defense would not have been necessary. Their failure to respond resulted in the death of the child molester and four and a half years of torment for Ms. Wanrow.

►Legal precedent.

Mary Alice Theiler, local Seattle counsel for Wanrow, explained that in some ways Wanrow's case will have a "greater legal impact than either Inez Garcia's or Joan Little's, because they both were jury acquittals, carrying no legal precedent."

In an interview with IN THESE TIMES Wanrow said that although she is "very pleased" with the decision, she had learned during her lengthy legal battle that she doesn't "dare get too happy. I don't know if the prosecutor is done yet." The prosecutor from the conservative Spokane community, Donald Brockett, still can retry her.

Wanrow's defense committee is mounting a campaign to convince Brockett that

another trial would not be in the interest of justice, or the taxpayers of Washington. Letters are also being sent to Washington Governor Dixy Lee Ray asking for pardon.

In the event of another trial a tape recording of Wanrow's emergency phone call to the police after the shooting will not be admitted. Upholding a lower appeals court ruling, the Washington Supreme Court held the tape to be "private communication" and therefore inadmissible. The tape recording decision, although less significant nationally, was in fact a stronger basis for the court's reversal.

The prosecutor had argued during the Wanrow's first trial that the tape demonstrated Wanrow was coherent and rational following the shooting: a key element in his theory that Wanrow had lured Wesler into the house to murder him. The seven woman, five man jury was deadlocked until they heard the tape a second time.

►Jurors' opinions.

Last month IN THESE TIMES interviewed eight jurors and one alternate regarding

their decision; the remaining four jurors were unavailable or unwilling to comment.

The most intriguing result of these interviews was the contrast between the male and female jurors' opinions. As one female juror stated, "Right when we got into the room, the men were ready to hang her." The five men did not understand Wanrow's panic and fear, and instead described her as "composed," "detached," "a cool, calculating woman," and "possessing a definite coldness." Perceiving the shooting as very deliberate, the men all agreed she used more force than necessary and one characterized the incident as "much like an execution."

They judged Wesler to pose little threat ("from the pictures he appeared to be a harmless old man"), and consequently they believed Wanrow erred in thinking there was "any jeopardy of life in that house." The men discounted the child molesting information, either figuring it was fabrication or deciding Wanrow should have used legal means to solve the problem.

Whereas the men identified primarily with Wesler, the women sympathized with Wanrow and understood her provocation. As one stated, "I would have done the same thing if it had been my kids." Two women considered Wesler a "detriment to society" and therefore, Wanrow did "society a favor by killing him."

In contrast to the men, the women did not view Wanrow as cold or deliberate. One remembered that her attorney had to stop the trial while Wanrow pulled herself together on the stand. Another pointed out that if she was a cold-blooded murderer, she would not have called the police immediately afterwards.

Because of the jury instructions, however, the women could not justify Wanrow's actions as self-defense. Three women held out during the two-day deliberations, then changed their vote on Sunday, Mothers Day. "We simply did not have any alternative," one commented. "They tell you what to do. Our hands were tied."

The men believed that the women were reluctant to convict merely because they were unwilling to put a mother in prison.

►The racial issue.

The all-white jury denied that any racial factors influenced their decision. "There was absolutely no racism," one man commented, incensed because recent publicity had characterized the jury as racist. One woman juror, who also denied the racism charged, declared, however, that Wanrow had had "her Indian friends over and they were drinking." (Wanrow's "Indian friends" were her sister and brother-in-law). The trial also occurred during the Wounded Knee takeover and Spokane's newspapers were filled with sensational article about Native American violence.

The interviews also revealed the illusions many people have about the criminal justice system. Three jurors convicted because they believed Wanrow needed mental help and "she would receive it in prison... They don't just lock you up and leave you there." Believing Wanrow would only serve one year in prison, two others convicted. One woman voted guilty because she thought Wanrow would end up in a mental institution if the verdict was not guilty by reason of temporary mental irresponsibility.

Wanrow has changed significantly from her experience. Her Indian heritage has become more important to her, as well as her understanding of the need for little people to fight back." She explained, "I provide a voice for people who are powerless to speak up yet, but who feel what I am talking about. I want them to get hope from this case; hope to talk, move, act. I know people depend on me. I pray every day that I say and do the right thing."

Roxanne Park is a writer living in Seattle.